Degree of D. Litt.

Thesis.

STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND OF SCOTTISH DEMOCRACY, 1815 - 1840

approx. 125,000 words.
8 typed

8. June. 1939

INTRODUCTION.

References in separate folder.

INTRODUCTION.

The Nineteenth Century in Scotland presents more than the usual quota of difficulties which beset the student of fairly recent modern history. There is an overwhelming amount of available material; there is a confused and expanding activity which requires interpretation, and any interpretation, however cautious, is bound to have its limitations and dangers. At one extreme is the detailed local interest which never risks a generalisation; at the other the easy acceptance of an inherited view as an adequate summary of a complex century. Yet in modern as in ancient times, the myth has its significance and the one which regards Scottish democratic sentiment as the most characteristic expression of the nation in the 19th century has some justification. At least, it is worth examination.

If the democratic idea is the major theme, it is one that is not easy to define. It has both a general and a local aspect. The Scottish movement in the first half of the 19th century was part of a West European and Trans-Atlantic change of attitude and value which was expressed in generalisations drawn from the experience of the later 18th century. At the same time these universals acquired a local meaning. They were bound to a particular environment and tradition which they helped to change; they carried a current of sentiment and unified a diffused irritation. In the case of Scotland they were applied to the circumstances of a small country as self-conscious

as Switzerland or the Netherlands or New England but one that was at the same time increasingly caught up in a wider movement of change. The problem is to realise the particular meaning of the great generalisations in this specific local and temporal situation.

For the purposes of this exposition a simple ad hoc definition of democracy is sufficient. I have taken two positions as typical of the place and the period. The first is that a democratic society was desirable as securing equality of opportunity and a consequent social mobility, as opposed to the privilege and fixity of an ancien régime. The second is to the effect that a democratic society would be distinguished by a peculiar quality of living: that each component individual would be able to become a person, enlightened and responsable: that a common culture would be shared and so shared would both satisfy and unite. This was asserted against an aristocratic pattern of living that was regarded as exclusive and immoral. In the first half of the 19th century these two democratic principles were regarded as compatible. It was assumed that a society which applied them would be a just and harmonious one: its members would be at once free, rational and amiable. It would be a society of equals and friends, so that the agencies of coercion would wither away as unnecessary or be rejected as perverting and tyrannical.

These optimistic assumptions have to be examined in relation to Scottish developments during a limited period, that

of the post-war generation, from the approach of peace in 1814 through the ascending arc of the Reform movement to the economic crisis of 1837. The developments have to be selected as being both of intrinsic importance and in some way testing the democratic assumptions. I have examined four. The first is the change in Scottish rural life from 1815 to 1830 as affecting the range of opportunity and the quality of living in the countryside. The second is the urban and industrial expansion of the period, not yet grasped in its entirety or generalised as "urbanism" or "industrialism" but exhibiting a confusing range of success and failure. The third theme is the creation of an urban way of living, a problem which precedes the industrial one in the public consciousness and which is given special prominence in the Scottish Lowlands by the contrasting developments of Edinburgh and Glasgow. The last subject is the rôle assigned to education, both primary and higher, in a changing society which had inherited a Reforming emphasis on the public provision of schooling. In this last connection I have examined the position of the Scottish universities and paid some attention to the expansion of the Scottish professional classes as one of the most important developments of the period.

The years between 1814 and 1837 are characterised by a multiform activity. This must be conveyed since it helps to explain the intellectual difficulties and limitations of the reforming movements. In the countryside a new regime is spreading, but only partially; in the towns, the extremes of wealth

and poverty, virtue and dissipation face each other; the country prides itself on its intellectual tradition and its educational facilities yet in the mid-Thirties Scotland was accused of being "a half-educated nation". It is surely necessary to attempt to reconstruct the confusing range of experience in this place and age, the contrasts between expectation and actuality that help to explain the hesitancies, the indifference, the complacency, which puzzle or antagonise those who a century later can see how things were going and what ought to have been done.

I have therefore tried to let the period speak directly for itself. The exposition has been constructed from contemporary material. In the fairly elaborate notes I have indicated where the information comes from. Occasionally a point in the text has been developed or illustrated by the use of quotation. I hope I have been able to make clear the relevance of the treatment to the two guiding principles enunciated previously without calling attention to the connection at every step.

Some omissions have to be explained as deliberate. For example, the examination of the way of living of such working-class groups as the weavers, the cotton spinners and the miners is limited, and the special development of working-class culture in such towns as Paisley or Dunfermline is inadequately treated. Nor in the discussion on education have I considered the experience of the self-educated like Robert and William

Chambers or the adult education movement in the towns or the amateur scientists like Hugh Miller or Robert Dick. But I am at present concerned only with the institutional environment and the problems it presented. It is hoped to be able to examine the positive movement of democratic idea and policy later and in detail.

I am very conscious of the difficulties of the subject. A local enthusiasm will at once detect the limitations of the treatment and be able to cite proof or disproof or to supply more convincing illustration. Nothing can replace that intangible quality of familiarity with a landscape, a town, an institution or a tradition which comes to those who have lived and worked with it. But the rashness of a more general view may be justified if it evokes a local criticism based on a more intimate knowledge.

PART I - RURAL CHANGE AND VARIETY, 1810 - 1830.

1. The Rural Change and its Interpretation.
2. Land and the Land Monopoly.
3. Rural Society in the Lothians.
4. Regional Variety - "Large and Small Farms".

THE RURAL CHANGE AND ITS INTERPRETATION.

At the close of the European War in 1815 the improving movement in Scottish agriculture had been under way for only two generations. Yet in such areas of advanced farming as the Lothians, the general outlook and the style of living of considerable rural populations had undergone as radical a change as their working practice. New patterns of social relationships and a new type of social order began to appear as at least a temporary compromise between the pressure of innovation and inherited custom.

Down to the opening years of the new century, the public opinion which concerned itself with these matters seemed disposed to accept the pace and scope of rural change, in the Lowlands if not in the Highlands, as essentially enlightened in aim and justified by results. By a remarkable series of technical inventions and improvements a relatively poor and exposed countryside was enabled to meet an increasing urban demand during periods of economic difficulty and war. Improved transport and more elaborate and precise marketing arrangements brought buyer and seller together, and conventions of exchange developed as the range and stability of the traffic defined themselves. The ex-

panding town populations were fed better and more cheaply. They could concentrate on their own activities and pay back the countryside in goods and services. The countryman thus translated the rising value of his products into new standards of comfort and a developing style, and these were usually accompanied by new intellectual interests and a change of convention.

But the cyclical interaction of town and country took on a specific aspect in this period between the construction of the major turnpikes from 1770 to 1800 and the completion of the railway net from 1830 to 1850. Before the first date the countryside maintained an economic stability and a cultural independence of the town; after 1850 the new transport opened it to an intensive penetration by urban products and capital, fashions, reading matter and educational practices. The intervening period was, however, not one of simple transition. The countryside was active, not passive. The directing elements in Scottish rural society were then conspicuously experimental. The old ways changed rapidly because they were displaced from within as well as pressed from without. The result was to create at this time a new rural structure with a positive value of its own. The countryside was aware of increasing intimacy with the town but not of any dependence on it; it expressed the relationship in terms of balance and opposition, and it grew conscious of itself as an economic social and political "interest", with definite claims and duties. Indeed, in some respects, the originality and vitality of rural life was sufficiently attractive to absorb

selected urban immigrants and mould them to its accepted pattern of living and leadership.

This new rural society seemed characterised by a conjunction of tradition and experiment. Agriculture was become a business and a scientific art as well as an occupation, and its exponents accepted, in some circumstances, novel standards of efficiency and enterprise. Production was essentially for profit; but if the aim was to support an inherited status or an elaborated style of living, business motives were increasingly dominant and powerful within the sphere of production itself. They shook themselves free from conventional restraint and advanced with the economic liberalism and the arcadian taste of the period. The result was an impressive demonstration of economic progress which seemed quite unprecedented in any old-settled country; it invited comparison with the pace of agricultural development in the Baltic countries and was "hardly indeed surpassed by anything...in Kentucky and Illinois". With success came an optimistic confidence. The individuals who were active in the movement were thus disposed to take their ultimate ends as granted and to occupy themselves with the means. The man of capital skill and enterprise was given elbow-room and the balance between personal and general interests, between town and country, security and wealth, immediate return and future investment, could be left to that invisible and reconciling Hand Which (or Who) was as real to some of the economists as to the theologians of the period. The individual landlord was in a

position to take advantage of his opportunities, to reorganise his estate relatively unhindered by legal or traditional obstacles, to apply the new economic art of estate management and to reap an individual reward that seemed at least partially proportioned to his ability, risk and foresight. The individual farmer combined business methods, science and skill into a complex practice. The area of cultivation expanded. Technical improvements in drainage, manuring and the use of machinery transformed the treatment of soil and crops. New types of husbandry developed into the specialised production of cereal or stock, or were bound together as an elaborate rotation of grain, roots and grasses. In the areas of the most intensive development, the great farms of the Lowlands, some specialising in grain but more often exhibiting a mixed husbandry, seemed machine-like inventions, so efficient and precise in their action that an almost aesthetic interest was concentrated on their technique rather than on their objectives and consequences.

But events were also, for a time at least, to justify the ends of the new agriculture, almost beyond discussion. An occasional voice had been raised against the scope and pace and incidence of the rural change. It was suggested that there might be less satisfaction in living under the new order than under the old, a loss of security, of old-fashioned virtue, sentiment and leisure.[2] A balanced economy of small farm and local craft seemed to have flourished -- in retrospect at least -- earlier in the 18th century; it survived in the less improved

areas and its scheme of values could be opposed to the impersonal efficiency of the new specialisations. But with the outbreak of the French War, the increased productivity of an improved agriculture was justified as a necessity. By 1795 the import of foreign grain had been stopped, and a relatively deficient harvest doubled wheat prices in two years. The stimulus of rising prices combined with patriotic sentiment to accelerate the rate of improvement. The new agriculture drew capital by the profit it earned; the area of cultivation continued to expand; the widening scale of operations encouraged the use of more elaborate machinery and justified other technical innovations. With the continuance of war conditions year after year, abnormal returns became accepted as normal and the basis for further expansion. An immense investment of skill, capital and labour became engaged in transforming the countryside to meet the national need, and an improved estate might reasonably be expected to triple rather than double its value during the twenty years of war.(3)

The boom continued to within a few years of the peace, but by 1812 the peak of the war price-curve for food-stuffs had been reached; foreign imports began to be resumed and prices to fall. A third phase of agricultural development then opened with the necessity of adjusting war-time efforts and expectations to post-war circumstances. This situation was expressed in economic, political and social terms. It meant that a new economic balance had to be struck between the claims of the co-operating

producers, landlord, farmer and labourer, inside the industry itself; between those who lived on the land and those who lived off it by handling, transporting, storing and manufacturing its produce; between those who were directly or indirectly dependent on the stability and prosperity of the landed interest, and those speculative merchants and manufacturers who, in contrast to the long-established rights and duties associated with land-holding, seemed to have little or no stake in the country.(4)

In the political debates concerning these matters, the spokesmen for agriculture expected the preferential treatment due to its intrinsic importance and its intimate relation to national security. But in the competitive adjustments of the immediate post-war years, the memory of its patriotic service tended to evaporate and the argument for security lost its force in a period of unchallenged naval superiority and expanding foreign markets. Agriculture and the landed interest were together exposed to a range of criticisms. Their protection was now attacked as a partial not a national advantage, as a resistance to economic processes that made for a still wider efficiency. The social argument was now extensively revived and in various forms. The new rural order was discovered to be imperfect. It was stiffening into a hierarchical form which was only indirectly related to productive function and which seemed to be more the expression of an artificial land monopoly with its associated political power and social prestige. Those who were placed in strategic positions benefited from the process of rural change, but this was

no proof that their economic gain might not be a social loss -- for many individuals, for some groups, or even for the nation as a whole. Moreover, the new structure was tyrannical as well as privileged. With the spread of the new agriculture rural relationships changed their form and temper. In the areas of improved farming those who could not or would not fit in lost status and security, and some of these moved to the towns, for better or worse. Others who remained found that the new discipline of work pressed out many of the traditional satisfactions of their accustomed way of life, and for this loss a possible increase in comfort or the reception of urban conveniences might not altogether compensate. It was argued that rural independence, virtue and wit alike declined as land values and farming profits rose. There was less opportunity for the able, less amenity of intercourse between classes, and an increasing distinction of occupation, circumstance and manner.

These varied experiences found simplified expression in two contrasting ideas of rural development. On the one side was the regime of large estates and high farming, associated with the protected market and approved as economically efficient and socially desirable; here was a necessary and proper concentration of political power and social influence and a fixed rural hierarchy, in which each rank had its specialised function. In opposition, it was argued that a diffusion of landed property and a prevalence of small and medium sized farms made for (or would make for) a utilisation of resources at least as efficient as any alternat-

ive, a fairer distribution of security, opportunity and reward, and a more satisfactory pattern of living. In such a society of equals and neighbours, distinction might become the spontaneous recognition of individual merit rather than the expression of the accidents of birth or legal monopoly or economic power. An active popular taste would learn to appreciate local genius and a wider range of humane ideas and sentiments. The agencies of enlightenment and fellowship would secure to each and all the essentials of the good life; independent of rank and class, this would become the expression of an individual preference that could not but be social gain.

These equalitarian sentiments derived from the optimistic and liberal tradition of the previous century; they were indirectly stimulated by the agricultural changes following the course of the French Revolution in Europe, and they can be compared to the parallel development of an agrarian and Jeffersonian democracy across the Atlantic. In post-war Scotland, as in other places, they were not completely arcadian; their revival was relevant to a particular setting. Faced with the cumulative effect of the legal framework of Scottish land-holding, the great monopoly that seemed to carry with it the whole structure of rural society and to concentrate local power in all its multiple aspects, this Scottish agrarian liberalism was "anti-feudal". But criticism of the rural powers was complicated by the patent fact in such a "demonstration" area as the Lothians this <u>ancien regime</u> was amazingly efficient. The feudal frame and the con-

centration of landed property was associated with a modern business technique, and received therefrom a marked vitality. But there was also evidence that, in other areas and in other circumstances, a rural democracy was not impossible. Change might be irresistible in the Lothians and catastrophic in some parts of the Highlands. But there were also examples of the survival and continuous development of local 18th century societies supported by small scale agriculture, dispersed industry and fishing. This social pattern was decadent in the Highland margins, but on the basis of a special environment and other regional advantages, the economy of the North-East and the South-West of Scotland showed a small scale agriculture that was nevertheless efficient and a social life that seemed still to be characterised by something of the liberal and equalitarian sentiments of an earlier period. At least in contrast to the hierarchical structure of rural society in the Lothians, the democratic tradition in these regions was not so completely denied by everyday experience.

For the purpose of this study, these rural changes after 1810 present two definite problems for examination. One is that of the extent and effect of that concentration of economic direction, political power and social prestige in the hands of the limited group of land-holders which called forth criticism as an unnatural, privileged and tyrannical monopoly. The other is the question of the economic efficiency and the social satisfaction inherent in a regime of large farms and high farming as

contrasted with the more equalitarian alternatives presented as going concerns or Utopian projects. Round about 1830 both these issues were entering on a new phase. A fresh wave of technical innovation began to carry the high farming into the straths and carses of the Central Lowlands and so to disturb the balance between the agricultural sections of the country. The land monopoly, now historically if not logically associated with high farming, was after 1832 more open to political attack. The criticisms of the rural change in Scotland thus passed into a programme of political action and organisation, but this was only the conclusion of two decades of individual and group experiences and partial interpretations. If the Liberal land reforms of the mid-19th century drew their generalisations from the later 18th century, these were given local meaning and emotional power in this critical and formative post-war period, and thus made effective for political action along lines of strategy and tactics that were to persist into the early 20th century. (5)

LAND AND THE LAND MONOPOLY.

(i)

Scottish land was held by less than 8,000 proprietors;[1] with their tenants and dependents they constituted a fixed interest. In the countryside the possession of land gave economic opportunity, political rights and social prestige; it was the favourite form of investment and it could be protected by the legal practices of primogeniture and entail. But this concentration of power which seems characteristic of an ancien régime was also associated with some degree of political intelligence and business efficiency and a social tradition of leadership and responsibility that was emphasised by the romantic influence of Scott and the fashionable cult of sport and country life.

It is difficult to give a geographical view of the distribution of this type of property.[2] In outline, the average size of the estate varied with the environment. In the pastoral Uplands and Highlands and in isolated hilly areas of Central Scotland, holdings were large but of low acre-value.[3] In the agricultural zones, estates were smaller and of higher value; but even in the Lothians, there were examples of parishes with only one or two proprietors and those with five or six were numerous.[4] Except round Edinburgh and the regional and county centres, absenteeism was marked, but mitigated to

some extent by seasonal returns.(5)

The detail of any local situation has to be explained historically. In some cases the estates of a great family survived more or less intact through policy and pride or by legal device. In contrast there were other areas where small proprietors were fairly numerous and where there was an appreciable movement of land to the market. These conditions might result from the division of ecclesiastical property at the Reformation (as round Glasgow) or from the concentration of varied economic activities (as in the old farming, mining, fishing and salt-making fringes of the Firth of Forth).(6) There might be competition for a limited amount of arable on the margin of the stock-rearing Highlands (as in Easter Ross), and round the growing towns and in the new industrial areas, the pressure of enterprise and investment made for change of ownership and multiplication of owners, where there was no legal impediment to sale and development.(7) But by and large, the possession of land was a restricted enjoyment. In terms of value, the encyclopaedic Sir John Sinclair estimated that there were some 400 estates bringing in an income of over £2,000 of real rent; about a thousand "middling" proprietors received from £600 to £2,500; there were over 6,000 proprietors of under £600 real rent and the balance was made up of rather less than 150 estates belonging to corporate bodies.(8) This analysis does not indicate the great rise in land values associated with the improving movement and stimulated by the American and French Wars.

but every locality had its tale of spectacular increases. Land attracted capital as a most profitable investment; traditionally it was also the safest. But there was no free market. Ownership was artificially protected, politically recognised, and valued as the basis of social distinction.(9)

The proprietor's income came primarily from agriculture and stock rearing. In specific cases, minerals or fisheries or kelp or the use of harbour facilities or urban development or manufacturing sites would supply additional wealth, either under direct management or by feu or let to specialist enterprisers. In the areas of industrial and urban concentration, agriculture might become subordinate to one or other of these activities, and in the lowest category of landlords there were numerous "bonnet lairds," proprietors of small estates and "pendicles" of land which were valued as sites for business or for political purposes or simply as conferring a sense of distinction and an indefinite legal security to the retired city business man who might or might not have "county" connections. But whatever the size of the holding the rights and burdens of ownership were clearly defined by a series of records "the most ingenious and complete in the world,"(10) and except where limitations were imposed by a feuing contract, the organisation of the estate was entirely in the hands of its owner.

This concentration of control had facilitated the spread of the new agriculture during the 18th century. There was no strong tradition of customary rights and joint occupancies (where they existed) could be separated out by a general

procedure defined by law.[11] In such a favoured area as the Lothians the improving landlords borrowed money from the Edinburgh banks, rearranged the farms, built farm buildings and cottages, effected other permanent improvements and let on long-term leases to selected tenants who were encouraged to introduce new crops, breeds and implements. There was often a "home farm" to demonstrate the new agricultural technique. But many proprietors, and particularly the greater ones, were involved, directly or indirectly, individually or in partnership, in a range of other enterprises connected with their estates. They developed, or allowed to be developed, the mineral and other resources over which they had legal control. They encouraged the construction of cheap transport by road, canal or tramway. Many were chary of welcoming a cotton factory in their rural neighbourhood, for such might introduce a hostile political influence, an alien working population and a rising burden of poor relief, but others "united the activity of the country gentleman and the liberality of the merchant" in their support of suitable projects, from the provision of fishing facilities to the development of an urban extension.[12] In almost every estate of any size timber plantings could be justified by the high prices of the war period and even the preservation of game was becoming an appreciable economic asset as post-war fashion elaborated the Scottish "season" and its apparatus of enjoyment and display.

Land-holding thus became more than ever a multiple

business, and estate-management a very varied art. Its principles were now recognised as worthy of university exposition but their application was more convincingly demonstrated by rising profits and values, and popularised by agricultural societies and periodicals. The estate was now an exercise in efficiency and its affairs were increasingly systematised. Its legal business was handled by the family agent in Edinburgh or the county town. Its internal management was the concern of the proprietor and his factor, who was becoming a trained "professional gentleman". Their occupation demanded a practical versatility that had to meet some objective tests of competence, and in the estate "office" everything was bound together by business calculation and strict accounting. The attitude of the land owner to his land was naturally a complex one and land-holding always had been a business, but these newer economic activities were now running alongside, if they did not dominate, the traditions of power, prestige and leadership which derived from an earlier social adjustment. The balance of a landlord's interests tended to shift from the sentimental to the practical; he felt himself responsible for the land rather than for the locality, and the performance of this increasingly private and technical duty meant interference with and control of a more dependent rural population who had to be fitted into a more impersonal scheme of relationships.[19] But the inherited privilege and repute of land-holding, which implied quite other attitudes, persisted and was even given a

romantic emphasis by war and the fashionable neo-chivalry of the period, while at the same time, the economic advantages of the possession of this limited property translated themselves into the elaborated way of life which distinguished this beneficiary group. The technical and economic drive towards efficiency was thus peculiarly associated with other non-economic values; some of these it strengthened; from some it drew support or justification; but its success in the decades before the peace had been so conspicuous that it now began to be assumed as the dominating factor. Incompatible sentiments and responsibilities tended to wither away within the range of its influence.

(ii)

The owner of land was much more than the organiser of an estate for profit or pleasure; both local government and parliamentary representation were attached to this species of property and governing was part of the traditional duty of proprietors. This local leadership took various forms.

In the smallest and most vital unit, the parish, the heritors, i.e. the proprietors of heritable property, conducted affairs in conjunction with the local ecclesiastical authority, i.e. the minister and the kirk session. The division of power between them and the scope of their co-operation were the result of the long historical relationship of church and state, and in fact, these two institutions still interpenetrated and

balanced each other. The heritors were relatively few in number (which made for convenience and despatch of business) and their local standing gave them weight in ecclesiastical as well as secular affairs. The appointment of the minister was not their concern but the patronage of the living might be the property of one of their number. The eldership which constituted the lay element in the kirk-session was a spiritual office but a rural minister naturally had to select some of the local proprietors or their factors or their tenants as persons of good repute, judgement and charity, and as few of the actual functions of the heritors were definitely secular, their presence as elders in the session was an obvious convenience. They were responsible for the upkeep of the fabric of church and manse, school and schoolhouse. They appointed the schoolmaster (subject to his passing various tests of spiritual and academic fitness) and they guaranteed him a legal salary, paid by themselves and their tenants. They shared the obligation of poor relief with the minister and the kirk-session; if voluntary contributions were insufficient, the poor rate fell on the heritors and their tenants, and those who were elders were active in the proper distribution of assistance. In effect, the distinction between the heritors and the kirk-session was legal rather than actual and behind the complicated balance of powers a practical use and wont secured effective co-operation between the minister and the local proprietors. Only gradually in the 19th century, with the revival of "ultramontane

ideas on the part of the clergy and the growing expense of local government affecting the heritors was this parochial unity to be strained, but even then it was long before a rationalised parish administration seemed necessary. (2)

The higher local authorities were also historical inheritances that enabled specific jobs to be done by those who were traditionally supposed to do them. The justices of the peace were recruited from "such godly, wise and virtuous gentlemen of good quality, money and report as the Sovereign pleases to name." (3) They were unpaid. Their main duty was to preserve local order, and a century previously they had asserted themselves against the hereditary jurisdictions in the disorders of the Jacobite risings. (4) But the office, while not unpopular, had not the tradition and prestige of its English model and many of the powers granted it had fallen into disuse. Yet if the justices had ceased to settle or enforce tables of wages and prices at quarter sessions, whether relating to agriculture or to any other country labour, the assortment of their powers touched rural life at many points. (5) They were still active in cases involving master and servant. They had jurisdiction for recovery of wages, and their power to enforce contracts of service by warrants of summary imprisonment was strengthened by a decision of 1825. They could receive complaints of the common-law offence of simple combination on the part of employers or employed as against theppublic interest, and if proved, they could fine and imprison; "aggravated" cases of the same crime

went before the judge ordinary and his jury or before the Court of Justiciary.(6) The justices could also punish for Sabbath profanation, violations of public decency and gaming; they could award aliment for bastard children; they were the proper initial authorities in cases of poaching for game and fish; and two Acts of 1795 and 1800 gave them the right to settle disputes as to small debts up to £5 sterling. In addition, the judges had been inclined to interfere with and review the decisions of the parish authorities until an adverse judgement of 1821 checked this development.(7) With the Commissioners of the Shire, they supervised highways, bridges and ferries and had a conventional power to regulate posting charges. But they could not consider any question of heritable rights. In general this comprehensive office was still flexible and effective. Many of the varied activities attached to it were matters of reasonable and general convenience and the justices could express a local knowledge and common sense. On the other hand, a time of social change would increase the number of decisions touched by personal and class interests and pointed by vague apprehensions of a spreading disorder.(8)

The county organisation that existed was also in the hands of the gentry. They paid the land tax under annual supply acts and Commissioners were appointed from among their number to assess and levy it. In 1798 this land tax became perpetual and fixed; the Commissioners of Supply then ceased to be appointed annually and came to include most of the landed

proprietors of the shire by virtue of their tax payments. This large and casual body had acquired some administrative duties and reserve powers. They appointed the Collector of the Land Tax; they supported the police; they co-operated with the justices in maintaining roads, bridges and ferries and they had to select a schoolmaster if the heritors of a parish failed to do their duty. But whatever indirect usefulness these meetings of the Commissioners may have had in focussing political opinion in the Shire, there was as yet little need felt and no demand expressed for the creation of a county administration. The primary function of the Commissioners had become fixed and the supervisory duties they possessed failed to vitalise the institution.(9)

Lastly, the possession of land was associated with the right to vote in parliamentary elections, but under limiting conditions. As defined by the Act of 1681, electors had to be publicly enfeft in property or superiority and in possession of a 40/- land "of old extent," holden of the King, or where this medieval qualification was not provable, enfeft of lands liable in public burden for his majesty's supplies for £400 (Scots) of valued rent.(10) The result was to confine the exercise of the county franchise to a handful of proprietors who possessed those lands to which the right had become attached, or lands of a certain value as exhibited by the valuation rolls of the reign of Charles II. The franchise was thus a peculiar species of property as well as a right. No other form of

wealth was recognised as qualifying and no other variety of land-holding. Property and superiority could indeed be distinguished, and since the holder of a mere superiority could vote, it was possible to create votes by the separation of superiorities in the form of liferents. But while the creation of these "paper votes" might turn an election, they could not alter the general situation: the county voters formed small groups of manageable size and similar status and interest. The national average was 71 voters per county; business could be conducted on the basis of personal contact and intimacy and political differences did not usually violate certain generally understood assumptions.(11) Local politics tended to become a net of family alliances and counter-alliances covered by party labels and concerned with family and local as well as national interests. The sale of votes and gross bribery might be relatively unusual, but political loyalty implied a quid pro quo, such as local concessions and a claim to posts in the services whereby younger sons secured a respectable livelihood. Politics was an inherited trust, an amateur art, a sphere of influence, not a competitive business or a metaphysical demonstration. In the circumstances individual independence and capacity were not always lacking, but the practical abilities as well as the group feeling and interest of those who ran the county made it difficult for them to realise an outside point of view, and in a changing countryside, other interests and capacities claimed recognition or were in need of defence.(12)

Political authority was thus generally associated with land, and in return land paid at least part of the expenses of the state. But in comparison with the burdens placed on an English estate, Scottish land was let off lightly; the same process of time, convention and inertia which had arrested the development of local government had limited its burdens. The Land Tax was based on an assessment of the reign of Charles II; the total for the country had been stabilised since the Union and after 1798, when the tax became perpetual and fixed, it could be redeemed. There was in Scotland no payment of tithes in kind: they could be valued, and when valued, did not afterwards increase. The heritors had certain parochial obligations but they were legally permitted to transfer half the allotted sum to their tenants. While the poor rates were mounting ever higher in England, a regular assessment for poor relief was still unusual in Scotland. There were some provincial burdens -- "rogue money" for what police there were, a commutation tax for roads and bridges and some small miscellaneous payments. But the special obligations falling on land were antiquated and out of relation to rising land values. It is true that national taxes were paid by landholders as by other classes but the fiscal measures devised to meet the post-war crisis were designed for their relief. They and their tenants benefited from the abolition of Income Tax and the passage of the Corn Law aimed at stabilising prices by protecting the home market and thus securing the continuity

of agricultural values and expectations.(13)

In general, these political and fiscal arrangements are legally defined but they seem pallid in comparison with the economic decision and initiative shown by the landholders. Where the surviving political institutions permitted or furthered economic initiave they might retain a certain vitality, but there was little transfer of the business sense outside its own sphere. Even in such a utilitarian matter as roadmaking, semi-private organisations had to be created in terms of private profit to secure the efficiency associated with private interest. But in fact there was little separation between the economic and political, private and public activities of the gentry. Rural law and order was implicit in economic relationships or secured by inherited attitudes of prestige and deference; where interest and sentiment met, there seemed little need of the insertion of specifically political devices. Such indifference might almost be expected in a country where the secular state had never been very effective, where it had had to struggle hard against family and ecclesiastical loyalties and where for almost a century the economic expansion had benefited from the relative absence of political check and control. There was certainly a local interest in the parochial affairs of church and school, but ofter more as metaphysical argument and sub specie aeternitatis. The decisions of the General Assembly and Parliament came home for discussion; but here again in the one case the popular attitude was active but not wholly political, and in

the other, it took the American and French Revolutions, the European War and the Peace, to abridge the distance between a rural parish and the Imperial centre. Outside as well as inside the area of local-mindedness, the gentry were the traditionally accepted exponents of the local interests and politics was their particular role. At the Peace of 1814 - 15 there were still parishes where their activities on these lines were representative and where there was no alternative leadership and little desire for it, and all over the country this class had taken the lead in the military and civilian response to war conditions and the threat of invasion.

But this was no longer generally true. In changing circumstances the inherited agencies of direction and conciliation were increasingly inadequate. The need of the new environments, agrarian and industrial alike, and the thrust of aggressive interests in either situation, could not be met by use and wont. And after 1815, the problem was more than one of simple development or invention. From one point of view, the local institutions were technically ineffective and irrational; from another, they were justified, or criticised, as outworks protecting economic opportunity and power and position. They were part of a social order and so could not be considered by themselves.

(iii)

Finally, the possession of land is of importance as

conferring prestige and influence and as associated with a distinctive way of living. By the opening of the 19th century the sentimental attraction of land-holding was a composite historical product of varying degrees of vitality and relevance. At its core there still survived the traditional linkage of land with family pride and local leadership and protection; but if this is explained as "feudal," it was not derived from the fixed and heavy feudalism of the English Midlands or the Ile de France In the mobile and pastoral society of the North, the relation of lord and peasant had been one of military and economic co-operation, based on reciprocal respect and real or assumed ties of blood. With its binding obligations as well as its emphases on family pride and loyalty, this tradition persisted through, or because of, the wars of the 17th century. Even when the structure of rents and services associated with it disappeared, a series of favouring circumstances enabled its sentiment to survive in a limited fashion the desiccating rationalism of the next century. The Jacobite tragedies left their memories behind them. There was the common experience of the pains and glories of the European and Colonial campaigns of the period; and the antiquarian interests of the lairds and lawyers combined with the fashionable literary taste for historical ballads and Gothic gloom to stimulate the romantic genius of Walter Scott. He had early savoured the strength, simplicity and pastoral charm of Border life while the traditional relationships between family and countryside were still quick. He was

a devoted servant of his family head, the Duke of Buccleuch and himself a model seigneur. For a time, the threat of French invasion seemed to bring a united nation back to its historical leaders and he expressed the heroic excitement of the war against the ideas of the French Revolution and the tyranny of Napoleon by revivifying the sense of historical process and national continuity. When in 1822 George IV made the first royal visit to Edinburgh since the days of the Stuarts, Scott and his friends combined the historical and the picturesque in the state ceremonial of the occasion. Some of this was authentic revival, some of it invented and associated with the prevalent "Celtic" enthusiasm, but it was a good stage for the recognition of those families whose claims to distinction rested on descent and tradition and high antique calling.(2)

The neo-feudal movement thus gave an added attraction to land-holding and emphasised family standards of integrity, decorum and pride. But it no longer implied the traditional responsibilities or any re-statement of them. "Marmion" and the Waverley Novels might serve to point the contrast between the vertu of the landed class and the claims of manufacturing wealth, but the duration of the French War had only accelerated the economic change in the countryside and the post-war crisis had revealed its modernity. The sentimental cult of the mediaeval was now running alongside a rural regime of cash profits and competitive rents. It exhibited itself as an interest in local colour and tradition, a recruiting appeal, a political

influence at election time, a taste for a Gothic decor and tartan, but not as a mutual understanding between rural classes that might mitigate economic pressure. Indeed, in those remoter areas where the traditional sentiment was most emphasised, the agencies of change were seemingly most abrupt and disruptive in their action, leaving behind them complicated feelings of resentment and betrayal.

Family tradition and feudal sentiment were really elements in an elaborate set of conventions and practices attached to land-holding as the appropriate way of life for the landholder. A style of living was in process of formation, with its approved standards of character and conduct, its range of interests and activities, its good form and its ritual exercises. English standards of social propriety were spreading from the Anglo-Scottish haute noblesse; their influence was now strengthened by the increasing resort of the middle gentry to London as well as Edinburgh, but the result was not yet so conventionalised as to be devoid of local colour and zest. The necessary circumstance was permitted by the rise of land values. The family mansion was transformed or rebuilt in classical or gothic style but the local tradition of excellent workmanship in stone controlled the more violent vagaries of fashionable taste. It was not yet the age of sanitary invention, but with cheap and willing service, domestic comfort increasingly tempered the northern chill and gloom. Outside, the flower and kitchen gardens flourished under the skill of a race of professional artists

whose word was often law, while the home farm, the loch and the moor supplied the staples on which Scots cookery was still based. The routine of country life was now happily broken by a series of periodic "occasions," and the traditional hospitality of the country and the class took on form and grace as the 18th century standards of conviviality were less generally accepted or observed only at times and in places apart. In autumn and winter there were "assemblies" in the local county town where such signs of post-war decadence as the quadrilles and the waltz were condemned or approved according to the age of the critic. There was a constant coming and going of relations, formal entertaining on the arrival of the justices and general activity at the time of the races. There were occasional visits to "St. Ronan's Well" and other similar spots, -- Moffat, Bridge of Allan, Strathpeffer; and in summer a large family of youngsters would be safest at some small seaside village with a reputation for good air, sea-bathing and golf. In this way, the coasts of Lothian, Fife and Ayrshire were beginning to acquire their modern reputation. A stay in Edinburgh was indicated in late spring for legal or acclesiastical affairs, the new plays and the new styles. But an increasing number of the gentry were drawn to London for business, politics or pleasure; there were English relations to see, the boys might be at English schools, the girls had better "chances" there. But there was also a return movement northwards. Perhaps the most distinctive development of northern country life was the growing pursuit of

sport. Fishing, shooting and deer-stalking were now being arranged into their appropriate "seasons." The publication of "The Lady of the Lake" had set the tide of tourists towards the Highlands, but even before 1810 this particular area was becoming fashionable. It offered a happy combination of simplicity, sport and picturesque scenery. At the opening of the century the Duchess of Gordon had organised the Northern Meeting at Inverness, a week of visits, dinners and dances among the Highland families and their Southern visitors at the convenient time of mid-October. By 1830, the first "Highland Games" had definitely emerged from their popular association with tryst and fair.(3)

Thus the laird of the 18th century was transformed into the 19th century gentleman and sportsman, and the generation that grew up with Walter Scott accomplished the transition. Their portraits by Raeburn still convey their physical presence and bloom, their pride, their shrewd humour. "They rode well and told the truth;" they were active in their business and their pleasure; they were still attached to local tradition, even if their presence in the locality was increasingly intermittent. Like their class all over Europe, they were increasingly conservative; intellectual speculation was now distasteful to men of practice and property, but they had been taught by Scott that country life need not make one boorish or eccentric. They had both sense and sensibility; and when they ventured abroad, their healthy vigour and direct charm were re-

cognised as in the national tradition which the great novelist was giving to Europe.

Nor was this attractive pattern of living confined to a closed circle. It was certainly based on land. It gave a social value to the activities of country life and the upper ranks who practised it were increasingly conscious of their position as the post-war forces of criticism deployed against them. But primogeniture had spread the cadet branches of the landed families into a range of other occupations -- law and banking in Edinburgh, foreign commerce in Glasgow, politics and the Services -- and these professional and mercantile families carefully remembered their gentle origins and returned to the land as wealth and leisure allowed. Sometimes it was possible to combine business and pleasure and there was a brisk demand for small estates within riding distance of the great cities. Every county town had its little society of retired planters, East India Company agents and ex-officers who might claim kinship with the local gentry. And in those areas where land was still changing hands, the urban capitalist or the returned East or West Indian could rationalise his own or his wife's social ambitions by regarding an estate as a good investment. The assimilation of the newcomer to the standards and practices of the gentry was usually rapid. The title to distinction tended to go with the land itself; a pedigree was usually discoverable, the correct political opinions were expressed, the right cause supported, or tact, ability and character eventually won their

own recognition in a society that was not yet excessively formalised. The second generation was educated at the proper schools; the boys entered the proper occupations; the girls were in demand as heiresses. There was thus a movement inwards and upwards as well as the diffusion of a social pattern. The lower gentry were in intimate contact with the services, the professions and the moneyed bourgeoisie and their standards of taste and conduct spread downwards and outwards until they reached those groups who had neither the means nor the inclination to imitate them; townsfolk who kept their shops and their appointed places, working members of the unfashionable semi-professions, the self-made business men and factory owners who still preached and practised hard work, long hours, thrift and no social nonsense.

(iv)

The new style of genteel living was one of the most important inventions of the period. But it encouraged and emphasised the changing attitude of the landlord to his estate and his locality. This group pattern tended to become fixed and self-conscious when exposed to criticism and to exercise a compulsive attraction on its participants. The higher scale of expense quickly became a conventional necessity. The years of war prosperity encouraged an almost competitive display, which lay like a first charge on the estate. Style was now dominating occupation and the increasing spread of non-local activities had

to be supported by more efficient management or by rising rents of by the judicious entry of new capital by marriage or inheritance. In some extreme cases, the estate became simply a symbol of position, kept up by the wealth acquired in more profitable industrial enterprise.

The reorganisation of the estate for profit and display was thus accompanied by increasing absenteeism, not on any Irish scale, but sufficient to make rural intercourse more difficult. Social distinction was now expressing itself by accent and manner, occasionally in a transfer of church allegiance, more frequently in what seemed an ungenerous pressure in dealings which had hitherto been man-to-man affairs. The landlord tended to recede beyond contact and appeal, to act through his agents and factors, to issue his fiat, to press the letter of his bond. Some of these changes were the result of the increased business of the estate, but therewwas also a general shift in temper and a separation of interests. The substantial tenant-farmers might understand this impersonal competitive relationship but small farmers and rural craftsmen, who -- like Carlyle's father -- had never left their native valley and had long historical memories, saw the new management from the outside, and associated it with rising rents and evictions, wasteful display and an offensive patronage which exacerbated a sense of injustice.

Two specific developments will further illustrate the changing attitude of the landlord to his land and the growing definition of power flowing from it.

The first is the increasing resort to the protective

device of entail. The gentry did not form a closed group but the gentlemanly ideal rested ultimately on land-holding, and as the scheme of dignified living became more self-conscious and its apparatus more costly, its base had to be protected from economic accident. Any one of a series of contingencies might plunge an estate into difficulties: speculative improvements, an ostentatious building programme, inefficiency and waste due to the softening effect of war-prosperity followed by the necessary adjustment with its collapse. The result might be bankruptcy and sale, and without land the genteel status could be kept up only in an indirect and apologetic way. On the other hand, land was in demand as giving profit, political importance and social recognition. In cases of difficulty, the landowner was tempted to sell part of the estate at high prices and retain his customary position on the residue; but if this process became general, the gentry would be watered down by the intake of fresh elements and their exclusive position dissolved. For the sake of family and group alike, this process of alienation called for control and the "feudal" device of entail was ready to hand. (2)

The procedure was laid down in a general Act of 1685. The succession to an entailed estate could be confined to a definite series of heirs; a succeeding proprietor had no power to break the line; he could not sell and he was prohibited from contracting debts that might imperil the estate. During the 18th century, the rigidity of this act was eased by a complicated Act of 1770. Under its terms an improving landlord of

an entailed estate could lay out money in enclosing, planning and draining and the construction of farm buildings to the extent of being a creditor to succeeding heirs for an amount not exceeding four years free rent. The expense of building and repairing the mansion could also be incurred as a debt of two years free rent. Leases were permitted up to 31 years or for 14 years and one existing life or for two existing lives, and in special cases, areas up to 5 acres could be leased for building purposes for 99 years. (3)

Agricultural improvement and architectural display were allowed for, but the freedom granted was limited. An entering heir might find the estate burdened with a debt equal to six years rent, a house which he could not keep up and which he could not let beyond his own lifetime and a programme of agricultural and other improvements which might be speculative and in some cases purely decorative. But the control of alienation was secure. By a decision of 1794, a person who was not entitled to succeed till after the failure of 25 intervening substitutes and their heirs, had a competent right of action to prevent the possessor from doing any deed by which his contingent right of succession might be affected, (4) and it was only by an Act of 1824 that a proprietor of entail was allowed to make a limited provision from the yearly income of the estate for his wife and family after his death. (5) Not more than a hundred acres of entail could be exchanged for convenience' sake. There was no power to feu for building sites. At the conclusion of a

lease, the tenant had no legal claim for improvement against subsequent heirs; his action could be only against the representative of the person with whom he had originally contracted.(6) And finally, entailed land could not be held for debt; the Act of 1824 expressly stated that any security or provision for repayment could affect only the rents and proceeds and not the fee. In addition, the complexity of the procedure by which even this freedom was permitted was quite discouraging; the slightest deviation from the prescribed rules rendered the security null and left the creditor without a personal claim against subsequent heirs. In effect, this important species of property was guaranteed against the risks of bankruptcy, while its efficient development was impeded.(7)

Adam Smith had condemned the practice of entailing as founded on "the most absurd of all suppositions, the supposition that every successive generation of men have not an equal right to the earth and to all that it possesses; but that the prosperity of the present generation should be restrained and regulated according to the fancy of those who died perhaps five hundred years ago."(8) He thought that more than one fifth, perhaps more than one-third part of land in Scotland was controlled by entails, and his countrymen continued to find these "natural consequences of primogeniture" attractive. By 1825, it was estimated that "at least one-half of the whole territorial property of the Kingdom" was so fettered, and of nearly 1600 deeds of entail at that date, more than half the number had been re-

corded within the previous forty years. (9) If not all the consequances which could flow from entailing did so, the device was increasingly criticised in the spirit of Adam Smith, as absurd, unjust and impolitic. It was absurd that land should be placed extra commerciam and its succession disposed of to the end of time. It was unjust to commit an heir of entail to a position in which he had so little opportunity of individual decision and so little reward of initiative. It was impolitic as protecting one species of property from the salutary effect of competition and so associating its less efficient management with the claims of a superior class. (10) It was pointed out that the Civil Law recognised a power of control limited to only a specified number of generations. Even the English practice might be copied with advantage, for this permitted any heir in possession, and succeeding after those who were alive at the date of the deed and specially named therein, to alienate and alter the order of succession. (11) A pamphlet of 1827 proposed a more original method of extinguishing entails: by act of parliament an heir in possession was to be allowed to make one-third part of the estate fee-simple but subject to one-third part of the debts and burdens, and this procedure could be continued towards complete disentailing in three successions. But this device had little chance of adoption. (12)

Even a limited resort to legal evasion was arrested. It had been assumed that leases of a fictitious duration might be granted and a large sum charged as "grassum" or entry money.

Thus a let for a thousand and one years secured by a heavy initial payment and a nominal rent afterwards seemed a fairly effective substitute for alienation. But such infringements of the strict letter of entail were liable to challenge by any interested party and a successful challenge involved forfeiture. A series of legal decisions condemned the practice outright; any lease of extraordinary endurance was held to be as alienation, even when a fair rent was offered and no entry-money paid, and the very act of taking entry-money voided the transaction. (13)

The second development to be noted in a neo-feudal direction was that of the Game Laws. (14) Scots lawyers prided themselves on their intelligible doctrine on this subject, but the contrast presented to English practice was to lessen with increasing similarity of problem, attitude and remedy. The Scots law of trespass was liberal. In cases of a simple offence, the only legal remedy was a civil interdict, its violation punishable as a contempt of court; or alternatively, special damage had to be shown. In England, an action lay for the mere fact of trespass, since any encroachment on the exclusive nature of the owner's right became an injury to the land, even although the damage might be nominal. (15) The Scots principle remained untouched until the Trespass Act of 1862, but its application was affected by the development of sporting rights. These were based on Scots Acts of 1621 and 1707 and a later Act of 1772. The right to kill game was limited to proprietors of at least a plowgate of land; this excluded holders of leases of any duration and

inferior tenants, but the landed proprietor could give permission to others to hunt, could appoint temporary or permanent agents and could let the right. By the Act of 1772, the illegal possession of game was penalised by a fine of £1 or six weeks in prison for a first offence and a fine of £2 or 3 months for subsequent offences.[16] With the rising value of sporting rights during the half-century following this last Act, their assertion became marked and the need of definition apparent.

One line of friction lay between land lord and tenant. A tenant could kill noxious animals and he and his fellows could enter an estate in pursuit of such without the proprietor's permission, but they were then liable for any damage done. But a tenant could not legally kill the game on his farm and a decision of 1804 (Ronaldson v. Ballantine) settled that a tenant could not interdict his landlord or others permitted by him from hunting on his farm, but he could subsequently claim damages, on proof.[17] With the spread of game-preserving, an arrangement between landlord and tenant was usually inserted in the lease, but a tenant might have little chance of refusing or altering the terms offered, and no control over a subsequent increase of game. The courts were critical of an unlimited preservation as defeating the rights of the tenant, but it was not until the case of Drysdale v. Jamieson in 1832 that the right of the tenant to recover compensation for injury caused by excessive increase of game was established; the true ground of damage was not that game was abundant, but that its abundance had been materially increased

since the date of the lease in consequence of the active measures of the landlord or his failure to keep down the burden.[18]

The position was still generally unsatisfactory. In an area like Perthshire game had become a serious nuisance. The increased cultivation of grain and the spread of root crops and grasses supplied food; the new plantations gave shelter; the smaller beasts and birds of prey, like weasels, polecats and carrion crows, were systematically discouraged. In 1834 a deputation of farmers from that shire complained that the damage caused by game equalled one fourth of the rent, and they claimed the general right to protect their own property which the Game Laws took away from them. In detail, these laws gave rise to absurd complications. A tenant could kill rabbits (which were not game) for the protection of his crops and without the consent of his landlord, but the permission applied exclusively to the tenant; and the tenant himself was forbidden to kill pigeons even when they were eating up the grain he had just sown.[19]

A second line of friction lay between the landlord and the poacher. Poaching had always been treated as a relatively serious offence in Scots law, but it was some time before Scots practice followed the more stringent English code which was built up in the Acts of 1800, 1816 and 1817.[20] In particular, night poaching was severely punished on the ground that it was more a cause of violence than an attack on property and the rural disorders in certain parts of England due to armed bands of poachers were held to justify a maximum penalty of 7 years' transportation

for an aggravated offence under the Act of 1816. This excessive rigour defeated its own end; juries refused to convict and judges to impose the full penalties of the law. In Scotland, a severer code was not called for until the end of the eighteen-twenties. As late as 1825, the number of poaching offences was only 30, and this has to be compared with an average commitment of over 80 for Lancashire, over 70 for Suffolk and 60 for Wilts. For the serious offence of armed night poaching, the Scottish total in the same year was only 5, for England and Wales, 251. (21) But with the spread northwards of the preserving of pheasants, a more extensive poaching made its appearance in Scotland and particularly in the Merse and the Lothians. Yet the defence of game had its limits. In a decision of 1827, the setting of man-traps was held to be grossly illegal and any fatal accident therefrom was ground for a charge of murder. (22) Thus any special act against the practice was unnecessary for Scotland, but special provisions against poaching quickly followed. In 1828, the Home-Drummond Act for the regulation of salmon fishing re-enacted the customary controls that had appeared as far back as an Act of 1477, but penalties for trespass in pursuit of fish without legal right or permission were added: for a first offence, a fine of between 10/- and £5 and forfeiture of spoil and gear. (23) In the same year Scotland was included in the new general Night Poaching Act and this was supplemented by a Day Trespass (Scotland) Act in 1832. The Night Poaching Act was justified as a police measure. The penalties for the offence of poaching game

(or rabbits) at night were increased: for a first offence, 3 months' hard labour with a bond of caution and sureties for a year, otherwise prison for 6 months; for a second offence the penalty was doubled; a third offence might earn penal servitude up to 7 years or 2 years' hard labour. The owner or his servant was given power to apprehend and resistance with any offensive weapon could be punished as for a third offence. Poaching by armed bands, i.e. three or more persons in concert, was now punishable as a misdemeanour with 3 years' hard labour or from 7 to 14 years' transportation. These cases of summary jurisdiction were triable by two or more justices, but there was a right of appeal to the Quarter Sessions. In Scotland the Sheriff of the county was adjudged to have a cumulative jurisdiction with the Justices and any offence involving the penalty of transportation had to go before the High or Circuit Court of Justiciary.(24) The Day Trespass (Scotland) Act was milder. For trespass in search of game, a fine up to £2 was imposed, with costs; for concerted action and aggravating circumstances such as disguise, the fine was £5, with costs; The conviction of trespass with assault or obstruction earned another £5 penalty. In default of payment a term of 2 or 3 months in prison was imposed. Such cases came before two or more justices; the word of one credible witness was sufficient for a conviction, but an appeal to Quarter Sessions was permitted.(25)

As had happened previously in England, the severity of some of these penalties was against their application. In

the case of the Night Poaching Act, the Bench observed in 1830 that the Act was not passed for the sake of the game nor directed against ordinary poaching but was against a particular kind of it as leading to murder and other grievous offences. The judges therefore tended to be lenient except when extreme violence had been offered.[26] But the crime was one which commanded a good deal of popular sympathy. It appealed to many who could not be convinced that the law of Scotland repelled the plea that wild animals, being the property of no one, might be legally taken by anyone. It had the attraction of sport and adventure; it might be made profitable by selling game to town dealers; there was the plea of the poor and needy. The procedure of arrest and conviction as well as the penalties gave rise to criticism. In the absence of an effective and impartial police, poaching often became an affray between poachers and keepers, with the latter acting as agents both of the proprietor and the law. Further, most poaching cases came before magistrates who had a class, if not a personal, interest in the matter, and while the justices were usually men of integrity and in touch with local sentiment, the crime was one that roused strong feeling on the bench and sometimes drew a punishment that seemed to have little relation to the reality of the offence. In these circumstances and in those areas where game-preserving was taken seriously (as in the South-East) the total of poaching convictions rose substantially during the eighteen-thirties;[27] and at the same time, a diffused resentment found expression in the

underground circulation of local tales of picaresque daring or tragic injustice.

RURAL SOCIETY IN THE LOTHIANS.

(i)

With the improved estate was associated an improved farming. This latter was not necessarily a regime of large farms, but the area which attracted most attention did show a remarkable development of this type. By 1815, the technical afficiency and the economic success of advanced farming of the Lothians was internationally famous. With the peace, public interest turned to examine the social re-alignment that followed it, and as it spread outside its area of origin, it met with approval or criticism as one or other of its various aspects and consequences was emphasised. This accepted type of high farming deserves detailed examination.

The region in question was the coastal sill lying along the south shore of the Firth of Forth and backed by the Lammermoor, Moorfoot and Pentland hills. A relatively favourable climate and kindly soil had long given it a name in Scottish agriculture. The stimulus of a local market was supplied by the capital, and in the second half of the 18th century, improved and cheap communications by land and water had linked this countryside both with the growing industrial area of the West and with the London market, where its products acquired a special reputation. The local proprietors, intouch with the banks and the scientific societies of Edinburgh, appreciated

and popularised the new agriculture. They reorganised their estates into the large improved farms that seemed able to utilise the advantages of soil and situation most effectively. These they let on long-term leases to a new race of ambitious farmers who assumed the duties and risks of an increasingly complex and delicate management. The result justified the activity; in the course of a long working life that coincided with the reign of George III, a Lothian farmer saw a changed landscape. The area under cultivation expanded by a fourth in sixty years, the production of corn and green crops doubled, that of slaughter animals increased six-fold and "the markets were kept full of the best beef the whole year round."(2) The farming of the Lothians became as experimental as that of East Anglia and as successful and famous. The traveller approaching Edinburgh from east or west passed a succession of large farms that, in their efficient lay-out and emphasis on production, invited comparison with the factory even to the point of a common use of steam power.

The arable farm of the Lothians was indeed a complex unit of production to which landlord, tenant-farmer and labourer contributed, but the technical knowledge, the organising ability and the marketing skill of the farmer identified him in his own eyes and in those of the public with his farm. He was given time, opportunity and security to make it. In the arable areas its size would range from 200 to 500 acres of improved land; for this an annual rent of £400 or upwards might be paid towards

the end of the war. By 1840, the range of 200 to 500 acres was still typical, but the rental was now £3/10/- to £7 an acre and a heavy initial capital had to be found by thrift or inheritance or a cash credit from a local bank. Yet these high rents were paid and the farmers throve. A lease of 21 years was a sound investment; it encouraged good husbandry and gave time for improvements to mature. The traditional relationship of landlord and tenant was reduced to a pecuniary arrangement, but this implied the all-important factors of professional skill and reputation on the one side and an intelligent estate policy on the other. (3)

In effect, the long-term lease gave the improving farmer his chance. Within the conventional limits of the "good husbandry" clause of his contract, he had a practically free hand in managing his farm and in disposing of its produce. It was already equipped by the landlord with permanent improvements, farm-buildings and labourers' cottages. But the farmer determined the complex rotation of crops characteristic of the Lothians, that alternate succession of grain and green which produced a marketable commodity, fattened stock and kept up the fertility level of the land. He hired and organised a numerous force of skilled and semi-skilled workers; he chose his working animals and installed or hired an increasingly important array of machines. He sold the produce of his farm in local or distant markets where the quality of his goods and the security of his word gave him a national reputation. He controlled his numerous financial transactions by an effective system of book-

keeping. He paid his rent and expected to bank annually a clear profit of about half this sum;(4) he was thus enabled to live in respectable gentility, educating his family and doing his duty by church and state.

The Lothian farmer was a very definite figure; canny and competent, a professional farmer, a keen business man, a man of substance, influential and respected in local society. Yet the type had been created within three generations. The grandfather of the post-war farmer could tell of his early rise from the ranks of the small farmers by education, thrift, industry and enterprise. The American War and a co-operative landlord had given him his chance. The son had found that the increasingly competitive environment put a premium on new methods and the great lift of war prices made him willing to run the risk of large-scale innovation. The grandson was now growing up in what was almost a tradition of high farming with accumulated experience as well as capital and something like a professional education. A working knowledge of applied mathematics and natural philosophy was provided by the local parish and grammar school and might be supplemented by attendance at the classes of Chemistry and Agriculture at Edinburgh University. The intelligent farmer was a member of an agricultural club; he read his newspaper, Constable's Agricultural Journal and the Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society. He checked up his theory by observing the practice of his neighbours as he made a circuit from farm to farm and market to market and

in the eighteen-twenties he welcomed the innovation of cattle-shows and agricultural exhibitions. Agriculture thus became both precise and progressive, and its exercise led to a professional reputation as well as a cash return. These two objectives supported each other; the rational conduct of agriculture was sanctioned by a direct reward. In the process, individual intelligence, skill and character had their obvious value and were adequately recognised. In this favourable situation the Lothian farmer could develop a strong self-respect which was related to trained judgements and objective standards of workmanship directly justified by commercial success. The agrarian crisis was to strain but not to break what was for a farmer a relatively propitious and manageable world. (5)

The calculated efficiency of these agricultural operations can be fully appreciated only by the expert, but a superficial examination of a selected area will illustrate the complex utilisation of local resources to satisfy the market. In the arable zone of East Lothian, agricultural practice, the management of labour and the lay-out of farm and fields were alike famous. A six-course rotation was dominant: a grain crop was succeeded by roots or a green or a black crop (of beans and pease) or by fallow. But the detail of the rotation varied intimately with soil and climate. In the eastern end of the plain near Dunbar, the red sandstone gave a warm soil and this, combined with a drier climate and a maximum of sun, encouraged an unusual development of specialised cereal cultivation. The

trap area of North Berwick was covered by a retentive subsoil or by heavy loam and here cereals were followed by black crops or summer fallow; but wherever a drier sandy or gravelly loam appeared (as on the coastal rim of the county) roots and particularly turnips were being introduced and the area suitable for them was rapidly extending by careful drainage. In the western area, with a tenacious soil and slightly more rainfall, summer fallow was practised but again root crops were introduced wherever there were superficial deposits of drier soil. (6)

Except for the small area of cereal specialisation near Dunbar, these varied rotations indicated a complex "alternate husbandry" i.e. a conjoint development of grain-growing and stock-feeding. The grains cultivated were wheat, barley and oats; these met a local need for food or fodder or were sent to London by sea. The stock were mainly sheep that descended from the Lammermoors and cattle moved from the Highlands to fatten on grass and turnips before being despatched to their final market. Thus at any given time the East Lothian farmer had some part of his farm under crops and some under fallow or legumes and roots that restored the soil and at the same time provided food for stock on the ground or in stall. (7)

This type of farming therefore raised or helped to raise a variety of products for a variety of demands and the farmer thus spread out the risks of specialisation. His local markets were largely his own and expanding both with the growth of population and with the increasing consumption of the finer

breads. His stock or the stock that grazed on his farm had a speciality reputation and was not much exposed to foreign competition. In the case of his grains, only a proportion entered the London trade and to some extent a surplus could be consumed locally by neighbouring breweries and distilleries and by the Edinburgh biscuit and cake makers who were beginning to export their specialities. With this distribution of risk, the post-war depression found him with some resilience at his command. He naturally wanted at least some stability of prices, and protection would be welcomed as a means to an end; but to this intelligent and independent producer the solution of his difficulties presented itself as mainly within his own reach. The development of those products least affected by the price-fall, the reduction of costs by increased efficiency of operation and marketing and the careful spread of interrelated activities seemed both reasonable and possible. Thus recovery became a problem of scientific management, the field of his special excellence. The pressure of rents and charges might well be adjusted, but after the first shock, his attention was focussed on operations within his own control. It is true that the farmer in this situation tended to underestimate the impersonal force of market changes and to overestimate the scope of his individual initiative, but his attitude at least helps to explain the renewal of technical advance from 1825. After a dozen years of hesitation and readjustment, this type of farming swung forward into a second phase of rapid development, characterised by atten-

tion to deep draining and manuring, the increased cultivation of root crops, and improved breeding. Wherever these improvements came from, the Lothian farmer was prepared to fit them into his intelligent and flexible practice.

(ii)

These agricultural operations called for skilled management. Men, beasts and machines had to be hired or acquired, housed, maintained, directed and disciplined, and however much this might become routine, it was only by careful planning, reasoned decision and unremitting supervision on the part of the farmer that the intricate engine of production could be got to move efficiently and therefore economically.

The contrast with the simple practice of his grandfather's generation was striking. Then, farmer, family and maids had lived "but and ben." At one end of this was the barn, at the other the byre and the stable where the men-servants slept under the rafters. In front of the line of low thatched one-storeyed buildings was the midden; the barn was the corn-yard and behind the dwelling-house the kale-yard with its kale, its aromatics and its few simple flowers. Since then farming had become scientific, capitalistic and prosperous; personnel, stock and equipment had multiplied. In the great farm which the war years brought to maturity, the collection of necessary buildings was rationally planned. The dwelling-house was now often completely separated from the work buildings "as if ashamed

of the connection." (2) Its frontage still showed the good strong masonry and the austere lines that indicated a long tradition of rural stonecraft, but the garden with its lawns and parterres and flower urns and the carriage drive, sheltered by a brake of trees, gave evidence of a newer and softer taste. But behind the dwelling all was planned efficiency. The flagged kitchen connected under cover with the domestic and dairy offices. These lay along the nearer side of a great square and at right angles were the other buildings; on the one side, the stack yard (in the best-aired quarter); on the other, the cattle houses and stables. At the farther side of the square there might be enclosed sheds for carts (facing north to avoid the sun) or boxes for breeding and feeding stock or horses. Each important unit of the farm buildings was now of solid and almost elaborate construction, roofed like the dwelling-house in blue slate; apart from the risk of fire, straw had now become too valuable to be used up in the constant renewal of thatch. In the stable, each horse had its stall; in the cowhouse, the water-courses ran along the rows and between them was the raised footpath which allowed "the neatly dressed dairymaid to walk dry-shod without injury to her lasting shoes and white stockings". (3) The barn with its lofts and granaries also housed the machines and particularly the ponderous threshing-mill which was now occasionally driven by steam power. The inevitable midden could not be moved from the cattle court, but it was carefully placed and scientifically constructed. There was in addition a poultry-

yard, a kitchen garden, a sleeping-house for extra workers, and out and about (but not in the house) were the intelligent and hard-working dogs.

With this centre of operations was associated a considerable and varied force of skilled and semi-skilled workers. Their employment and supervision were the farmer's special care, and while on the larger farms he might have the assistance of a grieve or foreman, ultimately it was his own intelligence, energy and temper that gave the farm its working tone. The relationship of master and man was legally and economically defined, but there were also conventional standards of fair treatment, and a farmer's reputation for competence and good will attracted and held the service of a class that knew what was due to its self-respect, was proud of its skills and shrewd within the limited range of its judgements.

The most important farm worker in the arable Lothians was the hind, the married plowman, whose skill in driving a furrow and in caring for his horses made or marred the success of the year's operation. Carefully selected and hired for the half or the full year, the hind hoped to form, and often did form, a permanent connection with his master. He lived with his wife and family in a cottage provided by the landlord as part of the farm's equipment, and for it he paid a rent by supplying seasonal labour for the farm, particularly during harvest. Usually he relied on the services of his wife and the growing members of his family, but where this was not possible, he had to keep up the obligation by getting labour from outside by special arrangement.

He was paid wages, partly in money and partly in kind -- £7 to £10 for the half-year, and a conventional quantity of oats and barley. There were several other allowances and one important perquisite: the right to keep a cow. All together, most of his real income was independent of price changes. The hind was thus a characteristic figure in the Lothian country; strongly attached to a good master, highly skilled and responsible, inheriting very definite group traditions and standards as yet largely untouched by urban influences, he ranked second only to the shepherd of the great sheep farm in the hierarchy of rural service.

Then there were the women who worked in the house and about the dairy and who helped at harvest. They were usually recruited from among the hinds' daughters, who were accustomed to the demands of the situation and still generally suspicious of and untrained for town employment. The work was hard, the hours indefinite, and the wages, even if rising, still low -- only £3 or £4 a half-year. But board and some perquisites helped to make up the income, and the more sedate servant felt as yet little need for town-bought articles, excepting a modest outlay on shoes and finery for Sunday wear. She preferred a situation within visiting range of her family, and she sought for a careful mistress whose training bettered her chances of marriage; a plowman's wife had to be a good manager. She would also feel disgraced if she were unable to bring some gear to the furnishing of her own home and most of her money wages were put

by as a "tocher". Often her relations with the master and mistress were based on mutual liking and respect and the connection might be kept up long after she left the farm. As a plowman's wife, the former servant still helped at harvest, thus working for the rent of the cottage; later the children did odd jobs on the farm, and it was the great desire of both parents to get at least one boy into a steady position on the same farm as his father and to put the daughters into service with an old mistress of the mother's who took her responsibility for the young girls seriously.(5)

Outside this inner circle of work-people with whom relations were intimate and only partially expressed in cash, the farmer used the help of a number of other agents; with these he made more purely business arrangements. Skilled workmen were required for building, ditching and hedging, smithing and machine-repairing. These artisans were hired in the neighbourhood or from the nearest market town, at time or job rates. There was also to hand a local reserve of semi-skilled labour, employed by the day as needed, or definitely attached to the farm as "orra men", or sub-contracted and paid by the skilled rural craftsmen for their specific jobs and so only indirectly connected with the farmer even when working on his land. Lastly, there was the important problem of the supply and management of the unskilled seasonal labour required at hay and corn harvest.(6)

At these seasons, the uncertain weather of the North made speed the primary consideration. Every available hand was

pressed into service, to cut, bind and stack -- the hinds and their families as by the agreement which gave them their cottage, those women servants who were not required to bake and to brew in the kitchen for the other workers, the orra men and others: weavers and cottars from the near-by villages (on this their annual change of work), casual labourers of both sexes, all ages and varying efficiency from the towns, and migrant bands of Highland and Irish men and girls who moved in a regular circuit from farm to farm as the harvests ripened. The farmer was haunted by the fear that an adequate supply of this mixed labour would not be available at the exact time. When secured, it presented a problem of management. It had to be lodged and fed and driven at top speed by various devices and inducements for as long as daylight and good weather lasted. Sometimes the work went on by moonlight, but local opinion had strong views as to harvesting on the Sabbath. In any case, complicated arrangements had to be made as to conditions and payment of work. The money rates were usually from 1/- to 2/- a day, but the pace and standard of the work had to be determined, the perquisites allowed for and accommodation provided. Sometimes the farmer bargained with the leader of a migrant band and left him to make his own terms with his followers, but it was noted that reaping by contract at so much an acre tended to be expensive since the work might be scamped. Personal supervision was seemingly necessary, but the farmer searched constantly for some means of lessening the anxiety and burden of securing and controlling this difficult labour.

Alternatively he was tempted to try to displace it by the use of machines. Then with the spread of the cultivation of root crops, such as turnips, or potatoes that required planting, hoeing, weeding and lifting, the need for this casual labour spread out from the traditional times of pressure to become a problem of the normal working of the farm during most of the active part of the year. It was met both by the increasing employment of gangs of low-paid female and juvenile workers who served a district from its local town or village centre, and by the extended use of mechanical aids. This double response in terms of human labour and machinery was to be later of considerable social significance.

(iii)

The success of his various activities enabled the Lothian farmer to raise his standard of living and this new comfort and style worked with his professional interests and his economic skill to change his outlook. A continuity of rural decorum was preserved, but behind this, his interests shifted and the traditional enthusiasms tended to evaporate. A new domestic environment was associated with a widening range of experience and new interests; all together, they made the style and standards of his grandfather seem historically remote.

The change was more than the accumulation of property or the acquisition of social polish; by withdrawing a supporting environment which had encouraged certain skills, traits and

values, it affected the range and quality of family relationships. The domestic life of the grandfather and grandmother had been passed in the smoky discomfort of the "but and ben," but the family group had been bound together by participation in numerous economic activities, religious exercises and the permitted rural amusements. There was then little distinction in dress, speech and manner between master and man, mistress and maid. They all lived together in the common kitchen and ate at the same table; the girls of the family slept with the servant in the kitchen, the master and mistress and the youngsters in the other room of the house; the growing boys were bedded in the attic. All shared a common and pervasive intimacy that was strengthened by a relative independence of the town and its shops. Furniture was simple; it was home-made or the work of local artisans and the display pieces were limited to an inherited "aumry," a meal-ark, a clock, some silver and pewter, and the more recent purchase of an improved butter-kirn. Cothing materials and clothes were still often home-made; the raw materials were produced on the farm or bought directly in the locality and worked up with the technical assistance of visiting websters and tailors from the nearest village. Boots and shoes were likewise of direct or local production; tin- and iron-ware were purchased from and repaired by visiting tinkers and gypsies. In the remoter districts, or among the old-fashioned, the gudeman's black bonnet and the gudewife's velvet hood and cloak and suchlike ceremonial gear might still be the

only imported purchases considered necessary, but the current of new taste was now becoming appreciable. The travelling pedlars carried West of England broadcloths for the master, cotton stuffs and silk fancies for the women, cheap china, kitchen utensils and table-ware for the household. But linen still remained a domestic manufacture in all its varieties and processes, and its accumulation was the pride of a good housewife.

In this selected environment, changing yet not changed, the on-coming generation also received the impress of an intellectual and moral discipline. The serious tone of conversation, the ceremonious deference of the younger members of the household to their seniors, the daily Bible readings and the strict observance of the Sabbath -- this whole tradition prepared for both worlds. It emphasised personal responsibility, honest workmanship and fair dealing, and at the same time it linked daily labour and divine law. The narrowness of this patriarchal regime can be easily overemphasised. By the 18th century, the rural class had achieved a partial integration of the various traditions that they had inherited. The intensive study of the Scriptures, Josephus or the Covenanting classics of devotion and divinity was not the whole story. There was food for the young imagination in the local lore of bird, beast and fish and in the still surviving balladry of the countryside, its romantic legends, its associations with the figures and episodes of Scottish history. At the local school an intelligent youth might be touched by the power of Euclid or Vergil even if

he had no intention of proceeding to a higher education, and the popularity in these circles of such a secular book as Anson's Voyage suggests a widening interest that was to carry many a lad into the world's traffic. But if the intellectual horizons were widening, a moral discipline seemed all the more necessary at home and abroad. Not all the wildness of rural life had been pruned away; indeed, its very prevalence continued to give point to the old-fashioned training. In this society, laziness was a besetting sin; with intemperance, it led to want and misery for which the sufferer was obviously the responsible agent. And carnality was punished by a public disgrace so emphatic as to suggest the pressing danger from domestic congestion and the subterranean influence of less decorous standards.

In thirty years the successful farmer had left all the external circumstance of this way of living behind him and had redirected its central drive towards a more secular end. In new surroundings of domestic privacy and comfort he was finding life less tense and more enjoyable. Its temper had changed. While the traditional virtues were left for those who were unable to command the new opportunities, he developed a simplified version of the attractive style of the gentry, and his wife was increasingly appreciative of urban convenience and taste.(2)

The domestic congestion had gone; the rural villa was lathed, plastered and papered, carpeted and furnished from

the town. There was now a dining-room, while the maids ate in the kitchen; a drawing-room with its special suite and the genteel symbol of a piano or a harp. Only in lighting and sanitation was there to be any further advance during the new century. The domestic crafts had gone. Clothes were bought from town shops; the farmer dressed smartly like his landlord and his wife and daughters followed the fashions. There was always much to do in the house and the dairy but the mistress now organised and supervised rather than participated. The family discipline was still retained but its tone had changed and decorum was becoming good form. Family manners were less austere; religious duties were less numerous or confined to the seventh day. In the broadening light of science and travel, the folk traditions ceased to be even picturesque and the festivals and rites of the farming year kept only as accasions of merriment. A new technical interest displaced Calvinist divinity; the farmer now read his newspaper, his Farmer's Magazine and his Book of the Farm. And his ideas as to the future of his family changed likewise, as he and his wife realised their social elevation. His children now deserved or demanded or required a more expensive education. This could be justified, at least in the case of the boys, by the difficulty of finding suitable employments. Openings in agriculture were limited and a heavy initial capital was required. Some farmers' sons still entered the professions, but a more attractive prospect for the less academic was increasingly offered by banking and insurance, the

new occupations connected with estate management and those businesses which handled agricultural products. In some of these lines, the father might have influence, but they mostly demanded a kind of preparation to which neither the parish school nor the university paid much attention. At the least, a grammar school or academy was indicated and attendance at an Edinburgh institution preferable. As for the girls, they were sent to a finishing school for a year or two and came back with the new dances, a few accomplishments and a taste for novel-reading which was condemned until Scott made it a patriotic duty. Then they were caught up again in the round of domestic tasks, became more natural as to manner and accent, forgot the use of the globes and married.③

This whole style of living was little distinguishable from that of the smaller gentry, but the identification was only superficial. The social approximation covered a fundamental difference of attitude. The farmer had no chance of becoming a landlord; nor did he wish to become one. He was interested in the use of land, and in the ownership only so far as it affected the use. He inherited from the pre-war situation an emphasis on hard work which gave him some of the virtues and vices of the self-made man. He seized his opportunity and made his living and his farm by his own initiative and effort and without any special legal protection. He moved in a world of anxious calculation and in an occupation that required "such increasing attention and so much laborious industry that few men who are

in the independent circumstance of an opulent landlord can bring themselves to dedicate to it their whole talents and time." (4) They embellished; he cultivated. In an expanding agriculture, the farmer developed a practical individualism and a group pride that set him off from the other agents in agriculture. They had all a common interest in the industry, but a slackening pace and the post-war crisis brought out the opposition between those who paid rent and those who received it, as well as between those who paid wages and those who received them. In this regime of long leases and fixed obligations, the major problem was the direct adjustment of rents to price changes, but this was accompanied by a series of disputes where legal power pressed against economic claims or thwarted technical efficiency. The unfair practice of competitive letting, the farmer's inability to sell his lease, the landlord's claims over crops, implements and household gear as security for rent, the penalties of bankruptcy, the payment on the farmer's part for deterioration of buildings and fences without any compensation claimable for their improvement, the growing burden of game rights: these became less bearable as the depression brought out their latent injustice. (5) An accumulation of hardships to individuals began to turn into group complaints; then the renewal of expansion and prosperity softened the criticism. But it did not remove the causes, nor that attitude of independence towards his landlord characteristic of an agricultural expert. Any co-operation would have to be in terms of definite interest not sentiment. (6)

(iv)

Attention must now be given to two special figures among the labouring population of the Lothian countryside: the hind and the rural artisan. Both inherited pre-war schemes of life and attitude; both were affected directly and indirectly by the spread of the new farming and made characteristic responses to its pressure.

By type of income, domestic circumstance and inherited outlook, the hinds formed a stable conservative group, exceptionally protected from insecurity and only beginning to be conscious of change. The hind was the most highly skilled and responsible worker on the farm; he plowed and sowed, reaped and stacked, looked after his horses and often carried to market. His master relied on his intelligence in these operations and on his honesty in handling relatively large sums of money. On a well-managed farm his work was carried on within fairly fixed hours, and as having horses to care for, he was by convention usually exempt from extra duty. He was engaged at least by the half-year, after careful inquiry by both his master and himself; but often he was the son of a hind, trained by his father and eventually taking his father's place. Otherwise, the young hind spent some years trying out places and getting experience of masters and men, but he was usually attached to his natal district and seldom moved outside the limited area within which personal report carried. He then settled down under a farmer who appreciated him and whom he respected; he saved and married

and brought his wife with her small dowry and her gifts of management to a cottage on or attached to the farm and supplied by the landlord. Then a young family made further movement difficult.

His skill and responsibility gave him a claim to a considerable income, paid partly in money, partly in kind, and supplemented by various perquisites and side activities. By the end of the war his wages had doubled in fifteen years; a first-class plowman might then be paid £15 to £20 a year. This figure tended to decline with the peace, but it was in any case used only for limited and marginal purchases of fuel, clothing and manufactured articles, some of which were becoming cheaper. The money income was, however, of a limited importance for from a half to two-thirds of his real income came from other sources.

He secured his cottage by supplying female labour for at least 20 days of harvest-time, and his numerous family could make something by doing light jobs about the farm. But if his wife and daughters could not fulfil the minimum labour obligation, the hind had to hire a woman worker, a "bondager," to live with him and his family, and this bonding system, so convenient for a farmer anxious for a reserve of seasonal labour, was difficult to change. Any commutation threw the burden of finding workers directly on to the farmer, and on the other hand, the occupancy of a cottage was the condition necessary for the full enjoyment of other perquisites and privileges.

The major allowance in kind which the plowman received

was a conventional quantity of oatmeal, barley and pease, possibly 10, 3 and 2 bolls of each respectively. The quality of this real income increased with the improved methods of production and its quantity was such that a careful housewife might have a surplus over at the end of the year which might be sold. But this diet was associated with the right to keep and graze a cow. This most important animal was the special care of the hind's wife; its milk made the oatmeal and other porridges palatable and supplied the deficiencies of a rather restricted diet. She also kept some poultry and pigs, fed on the household refuse, and here again any surplus of butter and eggs might be sold for cash. This local market depended on personal ability and favourable situation; but a cash income so derived was usually earmarked for the school fees and expenses of the children. In addition, the hind expected a small holding of a sixteenth of an acre, dunged and prepared for flax and an allowance of flax seed, and with the decline of linen as an domestic manufacture, the plot was used for potatoes, while an increasing attention was paid to the garden with its vegetables, berry-bushes and flowers. Further, the hind had victuals for himself and his family during the 4 to 6 weeks of harvest; his fuel was carted for him and there were allowances for special jobs of sowing, stacking and marketing.

The hind was thus relatively unaffected by market changes; he could adjust his purchases and he might even benefit by high prices in so far as he sold rather than bought. His

work on the farm and the various occupations carried on at home kept him and his family busy, independent and generally satisfied. He had an intense loyalty to a good master and little interest outside a protected routine. His needs were defined in proverb as "a good wife, a good cow and a good razor," and the position of the wife as a general manager and an independent producer was very noticeable. She attended to her household duties, brought up the children, took care of the cow, the pigs and the poultry and fed a large family with their open-air appetites on a diet of milk and meal, pork and potatoes, with vegetables from the garden to add to the broth, and bread made at home. She also sold her butter and eggs in the neighbourhood or at market, and sometimes she still made the family linen at home. Yet in circumstances of great congestion and discomfort, she was famous for cleanliness and domestic order.

All this was the expression of a family discipline that preserved its traditional forms. Local minded in their interests, the hinds retained a reputation for rural virtue. In daily intercourse, parents brought up their children in the fear of the Lord and in the practice of honesty and obedience, good service and thrift. Affection ran deep and silently under the conventions of piety. Scripture reading and family worship were still practised; on the Sabbath only works of necessity were performed and the public diets of worship attended in the solemn state proper to such occasions. In old-fashioned households which retained the Covenanting spirit, the children were

examined in their Catechism on Sunday afternoon and such devotional classics as The Hind Let Loose, The Fourfold Estate, Peden's Prophecies and Bunyan's Holy War read aloud in the family circle. But even where no special religious enthusiasm prevailed, the decent observance of the Day of Rest was universally demanded and practised.

The elevated spirit of this religious background irradiated the work of the week. In secular affairs the hinds were a sober and industrious folk, scrupulous in their service, proud of their skill, and intelligent, shrewd and pawky behind the reserve with which they faced the strangeness of urban contacts and unfamiliar ways. Occasionally rural license broke out, but intemperance was condemned as unedifying and wasteful. A still darker aspect of rural morals was strongly guarded against by self-respect that drew its strength from family training, and if public condemnation at church was practised only among the sterner sects, the stable and unescapable community exercised a social control by gossip and the appropriate variation of personal attitudes. But neither sentiment nor cheerfulness was excluded; rural festivity, song and ballad, local proverb and lore, had always existed alongside the graver tradition and were kept up by a class still outside the rationalising influence of the city, while an antique solemnity and a formal manner at christenings, marriages and funerals surprised visitors who saw discomfort and expected boorishness. (5)

The hinds were not intellectual; they were too hard-

working to have leisure to read, and what books they had were small inherited collections of devotional classics and patriotic literature from Blind Harry's Wallace (in a simplified edition) to accounts of Covenanting and Jacobite wars. But despite the expense of fees and books, clothes and shoes, they recognised the importance of formal education for their children. It was of practical value, for their farm work demanded a knowledge of reading and writing and simple arithmetic. They saw it gave the exceptional lad his chance to enter the professions and particularly the church. But it was especially valued as opening the study of the Scriptures round which their interests still so largely centred. For all these reasons, schooling was a duty and the parents felt themselves disgraced if they could not afford it.(6)

But everywhere this intense pride was apparent. In a stable situation and taking their life principles from their favourite reading, economic activities were personalised. The seed of the righteous were not forced to beg their bread. Public assistance was a personal disgrace and the acceptance of private charity the sign of personal demoralisation. In this spirit economic need was met by self-help. The farmer might give a loan for a cow, for which he had good security, but the risk of its loss was provided for by numbers of small insurance societies run on simple lines by members whose word was their bond. The hind had a horror of debt and saved for his weakness and old age by a stern thrift. And he also brought up his

children to honour their parents. The earning boys and girls sent part of their wages home. This was a recognised charge, and it worked with the need of a secure job and some savings and household gear to make the age of marriage late for this rural group. Further, if independence in old age was not possible, the father and mother could claim the shelter of their son's cottage; they might still be of some assistance in odd jobs about the home and the farm, but the obligation was a recognised one, and among the first signs of change in the position and standards of the hind was the increasing appearance of aged rural workers ending their days in the poverty of the village and town slums of the neighbourhood. (7)

Sheltered from direct economic pressure and exercising their peculiar skill and responsibility, the hinds preserved their position generally intact during the post-war decades. Even within ten miles of Edinburgh they had no political interests until the Reform agitation and even that barely touched them. Where they lived alongside mining and industrial populations as on the margins of the Lothian coalfield or round the salt-, brick- and paper-making villages, they were unaffected or antagonised. Yet the influences of slow change began to penetrate and their onset should be noted. (8)

For one thing, the pace and temper of their work changed. Agriculture was now understood as "the art of rendering the earth as productive as possible and converting that produce into money" and this process was bending the hind to a

harder and more specialised practice. His skill was not threatened but the pace of farming speeded up; relationships became less personal; there was more supervision and less sociability. As "a man of romantic taste, a man of feeling," Burns had noted the results of this process when it was nearer its inception -- "The more elegance and luxury among the farmers, I always observe in equal proportion the rudeness and stupidity of the peasantry." This criticism probably over-expressed the point of view of one who was accustomed to the Western type of small-scale farming, but what truth there was in it was repeated by later observers with more force after the war. Work on the great farms seemed becoming a scientific management of men, animals and machines integrated in an increasing drive, "eye-service" performed under an overseer, watch in hand. Diligence was ceasing to be a virtue; there was no room for fidelity and the pride of an honest man who worked as in God's sight; "the people see that there is no bargain for these moral qualities with them any more than with the horses or the threshing machine." And this moral degradation was accompanied by the disappearance of the inherited folk-background. The celebrations of the older world -- May Day, Midsummer, Harvest Home, Hallowe'en, the play of the masked Gyzarts with their drama of death and resurrection -- faded, and became silly or a nuisance. The new regime centred round the Feeing Fair, the Plowing Match, the Cattle Show, as the year's landmarks, and the tension of the year's work tended to find a more violent release on these oc-

casions of urban contact. (10)

The intensive pace initiated or accelerated another series of far-reaching consequences. The rising standards of efficiency shortened the working life of the hind, already often crippled by the early onset of rheumatism. He began to lose his value in his forties before he had been able to make provision for his old age. He then found it difficult to earn a living by doing odd jobs nor could he find a cheap cottage to rent, for in the Lothians the practice of poor-law assessment had spread from across the Border and by their control of the supply of cottages the landowners discouraged the settlement of workers who might become a burden on the rates. The hind had to be supported all the earlier by his family which further postponed the age of marriage of the next generation, or he went to live in the local village or town, hoping to pick up a casual living. His children would often send him weekly assistance; if at the worst, he and his wife were compelled to accept assistance or charity, there was a covering blanket of anonymity. And at the same time the call for vigorous workers gave an added value to the younger men. There was not in the Lothians any appearance of the "bothy" which housed a group of unmarried plowmen attached to a farm, but the period during which a young hind circulated before settling down began to expand and its aim to become high wages rather than training. Marriage had to wait for the chance of a cottage. But even when this was available, an intelligent worker, becoming aware of the general mobility

around him, could make but little advance. He might eventually become a grieve or farm foreman, but he could never hope to save enough capital to rent or buy a farm however small and be his own master, nor could he shift to any other occupation. In such circumstances, a young plowman began to consider the attractions of Illinois or New South Wales when the propaganda of the emigration companies began to reach him in the later Thirties. (11)

But these developments were marginal and only slowly cumulative; to a local minded population this Scottish system of rural work and living had great powers of resistance and attraction. As long as there was a demand for his skill and as long as a cottage, a cow and payments in kind were available, the family group retained its position. A farmer might find the varied payments and perquisites something of a nuisance and requiring simplification, but the hind's skill commanded this price and only the minor arrangements were commuted. The articles purchased by the hind in the market -- tea, white bread and tobacco as well as coal, kitchen utensils and clothes -- became conventional necessities which might have to be paid for by an increasing proportion of the hind's income expressed in cash. The presence of a bondager was an irritating burden, and in areas where other female out-workers were available this obligation might be put on a cash basis. But the essential items of the hind's real income remained unchanged for possibly two generations after the war; only when, in the fifties and after,

the cow's keep and the major payments in kind began to be calculated in cash substitutes, was the hind's position seriously affected.

But long before this it was apparent that his housing was bad. It is true that there had been improvement largely due to the stimulus of wa when his labour was in demand and there was an alternative occupation. The hind's grandfather had lived in a cottage, often of only one room, the walls low, the windows small and sometimes without glass, the vent badly made, the fire open, the floor of hard earth, the roof thatched. On the model farms the landlord had replaced these to some extent by cottages of stone and lime, with higher walls, a proper hearth and chimney, an improved roof, the windows with four panes of glass. But the improvement was not universal and the post-war crisis encouraged the neglect of even this improved housing. It was nobody's business. The farmer, anxious to secure his lease, often did not dare to press the expense of cottage rebuilding or renovation. It was the landlord's duty to supply the farm with an adequate number of cottages, but they were expensive to build and to keep up. He had no direct rent from them and no direct contact or responsibility for their occupants. The hinds, it was said, were accustomed to what they got; there was always a demand for accommodation in any condition, and finally, a more adequate supply would encourage the poor to stay in the parish and apply for assistance.

The hind had no choice. He had to take the house

with the job and hope for the best. On a good estate and under a responsible farmer, his reasonable expectations might be fulfilled: a dry roof, a firm floor, a fixed grate, a good doorstone, a fenced garden and some kind of outhouse for the cow. In other situations, the cottage might be in disrepair, the thatch foul and leaking, the floor broken and damp, the equipment provided incredibly mean or non-existent. The hind would then have to patch up for himself as best he could and provide his own fixtures. Sometimes he took with him from his last place his own door and window-panes, his own grate and the "swey" from which hung his kettle and his griddle. In general, there was little privacy. The hind and his wife, his numerous family, his parents and the bondager might all live in one room, the only partition supplied by the box-bed in the middle of the floor. In these circumstances, the hind's emphasis on an old-fashioned moral training and family discipline found its justification.(12)

(v)

In contrast to the hind in his protected isolation, the Lothian artisan and the general labourer were exposed to economic uncertainty; they became relatively mobile, took the chance of success or failure, and in either contingency acquired a different outlook.

Directly or indirectly, the new farming stimulated a wide range of production and exchange. The construction and

repair of buildings, machines, drains, roads, canals and harbours went on in response to the successive stages of agricultural advance, and such subsidiary industries as quarrying, lime- and brick-working benefited from a rural as well as an urban demand. Produce had to be transported to mills and breweries, stores and docks. A marketing organisation was built up which gave local centres like Dalkeith and Haddington a national importance for their grain transactions, and in the smaller towns of an improved countryside other services and supplies were concentrated. The whole activity was facilitated by the spread of the branches of the Edinburgh banks; their system of cash credits secured by supporting bonds gave men of character and enterprise the capital necessary for development on favourable terms.(2)

This expansion was not completely localised. Management might lie outside the rural area and technical equipment and temporary labour have to be imported into it. But the local skills benefited, and especially during the war years the small-town smith or the village wright could acquire a more than local reputation as an inventor and repairer of farming and other machinery while the master-mason called himself a contractor as the size of his operations increased. The less ambitious found themselves occupied and their wages rising. They were paid by the job or the day; towards the end of the war, the money they received might range between the mason's rate of 3/4 a day to 1/8 for the general labourer. But their real in-

come was a matter of some calculation. These groups had to pay for housing and buy necessities in the market and the rise of war prices touched them. Furthermore, even if demand were brisk and unemployment could be considered merely as a matter of personal failure, many tradesmen had to provide for seasonal fluctuations and broken time. But their circumstances were generally and appreciably improving, while a wider outlook was giving them higher standards and new desires.

During the last years of war this advance was at least checked. The more speculative enterprises failed with the increasing economic disturbance. The transition to peace affected these workers directly; after an irregular and partial recovery, they were exposed to the crisis of 1825. At long range, the irregularities took their place inside an expanding system, but individually, the skilled artisan and the general labourer had moved into a position more exposed to economic accident, and had to develop or renew any possible defences.

The skilled artisans were aware of their position and an inherited tradition of craft organisation, some system of certified training that attempted to control the entry of fresh labour and such protective associations as the friendly society and the parish savings bank. Living in small towns and large villages, these men were responsive to currents of political and economic discussion; their outlook was liberal as they prospered or radical when they felt themselves thwarted or unjustly treated. But in any one place their numbers were rela-

tively small and their attitude was marked by an intense craft pride. Relationships were still personal, there was little change in skill, the individual asserted himself in Church and Lodge as well as in the workshop and was still satisfied by his vocabulary of 18th century rationalism. The weavers, whose influence was so important for the transition to conscious economic action on the part of working-class groups, were not characteristic of this countryside, and economic pressure was softened by a rising minimum of demand. Any labour surplus tended to move; the unemployed, if young, and the old, if unemployable, were drawn to a great city like Edinburgh which seemed to offer them an opportunity or a refuge.(3)

The position of the regular labourer was less secure. He was exposed to the handicaps of physical strain, ill-health and poor housing, yet the demand for his services had been active during the war, and despite the rise in prices, his real income was increasing. In a countryside which gave him a range of employments, some of which involved skill and trust, he could have a local reputation which he valued. In their decorum and piety some of this group resembled the hinds, but their knowledge of the world around them was more extensive and their interests might be more intellectual. The better sort of labourer was aware of the importance of some formal education for his family and he hoped to be able to apprentice the boys to a skilled trade.

The post-war situation tended to dissipate this op-

timism. Even when in continuous employment, a low real income, the demands of a large family, and an early decline in efficiency made it difficult for this group to accumulate reserves for old age or any other purpose. An adverse balance of prices and wages brought almost immediate want, and such "bad years" as 1814-15, 1816-19 and 1825 found the labourer unprotected. A settled man with a wife and young family was unwilling to move beyond the locality which knew him. Depression had therefore to be "tholed," to be weathered by economies of diet, clothing, housing and education. In such a period, the consumption of potatoes increased and the use of such heavily taxed articles as candles, salt and soap declined. Clothes were worn until attendance at church and school had to be dropped. Housing had to be cheap, and there was a demand for wretchedly poor and unhealthy accommodation. Poor relief was only for the aged and impotent and there was a strong feeling of personal independence that resented charity. Nor were there many alternative occupations in the high farming areas. The attempt to locate textile mills in East Lothian was a failure. The "servile" industries of mining and salt-making were disliked. For the oncoming generation, the expenses of fees, clothes and tools necessary for entry into a skilled trade could not be met, but as this younger labour was still mobile, it had a choice between irregular work about the farms and on the roads, demoralising mass-employment on the new canals, or a move to the neighbouring great city. As a last resort an active youngster could enlist

for 21 years; emigration was not possible unless with assistance. Then with general recovery and a fresh advance in high farming, the demand for rural labour would revive.

An account of this situation is to be found in the opening pages of Alexander Somerville's "Autobiography of a Working Man." The writer was born in 1810 when his father was working as a mason's labourer in the rural uplands south of Dunbar. He was then receiving 15/- a week, the highest wages he ever earned. Alexander was the youngest of 11; of these 8 survived but in his earliest years only the eldest girl was old enough to work, and despite the relatively high wages, prices had so risen that, after the school fees had been paid, there was little for shoes and clothes and not a shilling to spare to have Alexander's birth registered. (5)

The rent of the cottage was paid by providing labour to the adjacent farm: a woman out-worker, a shearer at harvest, and a stack carrier when the threshing mill was going. The out-worker earned 10d a day; the shearer was given her meals and the perquisite of a bushel of barley. The stack carrier was unpaid and might have to do this heavy work 30 or 40 days in the year, usually in the winter months. The eldest girl worked in the fields. The mother undertook the harvesting and stacking obligations; when confined to the house she might still make a little by spinning.

The accommodation given to this family in return was wretched: a row of mean tiled sheds, not so high in the walls

as would allow a man to get in without stooping, a clay floor, no ceiling under the roof, no cupboard, no grate except the iron bars provided by the tenants, no partition except that made by the beds.(6)

The economic pattern was that of the hind, but the cow, when it could be afforded, and the year's meal, bought in bulk and ground at the local mill, had to be paid for out of wages. There were recurrent dearths; during the lean years of 1816 and 1817 the family lived on bad potatoes and salt herrings. As the boys and girls grew up, the situation eased. In the better times of the Twenties, an excellent cow was kept; its summer grass and winter straw cost £6, but it gave milk for two-thirds of the year and the mother sold butter to regular customers at the local market. Then with increasing age the father's wages sank to 8/-, 7/- and 6/- a week and there were the further expenses of getting the boys into a skilled trade.

The family tradition of discipline was also comparable to that of the hind's, but there was in addition a more marked intellectual interest. The father belonged to a strict Seceding group. Prayers were held daily in the morning, family worship was repeated in the evening and the Sabbath was a day of obligation. Yet the intellectual tradition was not completely set. The father was a great reader with a taste for technical theology and a dislike of Burns for his satire on the unco' guid, but among his friends there were amateur scientists. One "lost genius" of a quarryman who had been taught to read by his wife

walked twenty miles and back on a Sunday to borrow a book on astronomy.

Education was valued for its own sake and as the means of advancement, so the parents economised and sent their children to school. The father had not spent 40/- on drink in as many years; his one luxury was tobacco, chewed sparingly as a stimulant during his work and smoked solemnly on Sabbath evenings while he listened to a sermon read by one of the family. Alexander Somerville did not go to school until he was 8 years of age. It was customary to begin a child's education at home, and the school was two miles away; but decent clothes for the boy were not to be had until 1818 when prices fell and food was cheaper. The school was not a parish one. The schoolmaster taught because he was lame; but in comparison with the local dominie his charges were not so high, and his methods were as severe.

Alexander's brothers had shown him an example. James was clever, but as there was no money to educate him for the ministry he was apprenticed to a cooper in Leith. There he joined a debating society. After a year or two he built up a successful business at Innerwick, a village on the seaward flank of the Lammermoors; he was active in good works, organised benefit societies and evening singing classes and kept watch against the resurrectionists. With his income falling as age advanced, the father could apprentice a second son to a joiner only by the greatest sacrifices; the expenses of his clothes

and tools meant that Alexander had to earn quickly. He began by herding cattle at 6d a day, for six days and nothing for Sunday.(8)

In his teens, the young boy awoke to what intellectual stimulus came his way. He discovered Burns and despite his difficulty with the unfamiliar dialect, the genius of the poet subdued him. The father then spent half a week's wages in sending for a volume of "Gospel Sonnets" from Edinburgh, but they were not appreciated. Anson's Voyage Round the World next fired the boy's imagination. There was a newly founded parish library at Innerwick but its stock of religious novels was not attractive. More satisfying matter was provided by the compilation of a Dunbar bookseller, George Miller's "The Book of Nature Laid Open." The author was an enthusiast for adult education and a benevolent encyclopediste. He dealt with the geology of the Lammermoors as illustrating natural law which eventually led up to Divine Providence. The book cost 10/6; Somerville bought it and found it a good investment.(9)

There was now no money for his apprenticeship and little chance of steady employment, but he could earn his keep for the time and some money for his family and his books by harvesting. The wages paid for rush work in the Merse were nearly double those of the Lothians and this tempted him in the autumn of 1831. At Bogend, one of the great farms of this district, he was given good food and paid 3/- and 3/6 a day, but the pace of the work was killing. "In any one day, the shearers hacked down...three times as much corn at least as the same number would

be allowed to do in the Lothians."(10)

Then he tried working as a labourer at the fishing harbours under construction on the Lothian coast. His wages were 11/- a week, but the work, the men and the misery of the construction camps appalled him. The collapse of the building boom in Edinburgh and elsewhere had sent the unemployed to this public work. To Somerville, with his complete ignorance of urban ways, these men seemed "the very debris of civilised mankind." He saw skilled workmen who arrived "literally without a shirt and without tools...who borrowed tools, borrowed shirts, earned 18/- a week and drank it all in whisky, week after week, except what was laid out for them in oatmeal for food, when they could not get whisky." The drinking usages of the work shocked him and wasted his wages. He was antagonised by the craft distinctions between skilled and unskilled. Years later he was to express the philosophic view that the socially excluded became more inventive bacause of their exclusion; but at this time, when he was 21 years old, the only way of escape from the killing toil and the brutal living was to enlist.(11)

He remembered the journey to his first camp in England all his life. He had never tasted roast mutton at home, only at harvest festival on the farm; he had never tasted roast beef at all. His progress southwards was marked by the discovery of apple-dumpling (at Horsham), Yorkshire pudding (at Warwick), roast goose (at Thame). But these delights could not reconcile the values and attitudes of his early training and the stupid

discipline of his new occupation, nor could they dissipate his feelings of thwarted talents, injustice and waste. He was to be a protestant for the rest of his life.[12]

REGIONAL VARIETY - "LARGE AND SMALL FARMS".

(i)

By 1815 the outline of rural society in the Lothians was distinctive. Its component parts co-operated but were separate. Their functions were definite and their relative positions accepted as seemingly necessary. No personnel passed from one group to another and adjustments between them were more and more expressed in the impersonal terms of supply and demand. Alternative social values were permeated by this emphasis which took on the guise of common sense; they were criticised and defended in similar terms and their resistance was felt to be an abnormal and temporary defiance of quasi-natural processes.

But outside the Lothians agriculture was less standardised; its working unit varied in form with local circumstance and was still associated with traditional yet active schemes of living. A tendency to innovate and improve became more general, and in response to the market, management became more rational and pecuniary valuations more acceptable. But the advance of innovation was irregular. The factors of time and place have to be taken into consideration. The new methods spread out from their point of initiation and at the expense of less effective rural economies; but at any given time, they occupied a limitable area in which there would be enclaves of an older way of doing things and they would be surrounded by a zone

of partial adjustment and beyond that would be areas relatively untouched or resistant to change. From another aspect, the new farming was a more specialised response to the market and this implied an intensive study of local factors of climate, soil and situation. The new standards of business conduct had to take on a local meaning and the new technical interest to adapt its agencies to specific problems. The kind of work, its skill, rhythm and discipline, and the forms of organisation adopted , have still to be studied as particular responses. The result was not so much the abolition of local individuality as a new configuration related to a characteristic environment as well as to a market and showing an expressive pattern of common, complementary and divergent interests.

A primary contrast in terms of environment was that between plowland and pasture; but this must not be made absolute. The differences between these countrysides were apparent in terms of settlement, work, sociability and taste, but the two forms of exploitation were intimately related. Even in the Lowlands the arable area was geographically a strip of fertile soil backed by hill pasture and while these environments imposed their own kind of exploitation, their respective monocultures were limited to the large sheep-farms of the Southern Uplands and the Highlands on the one hand, and on the other, to the relatively small area of heavy grain farming in East Lothian. Between these extremes were various types of mixed farming, combining grain and stock in such a way as to get the most advantage out of the specific

situation and its resources. It was the balance between the two extremes that gave its character to a locality, marking its landscape and affecting its life and outlook.①

Some of these developments may be indicated here for reference. In South-East Scotland, climate, soil and situation defined the area of advanced farming in the Lothian plain, with its great farm, its crop rotations and its intake and despatch of cattle and sheep; a similar type of farming characterised by the same complexity and efficiency was spreading in the Merse of Berwickshire between the Lammermoors and the Tweed and to a limited extent up the lower reaches of the river and its tributaries. But the small plains and lower slopes of the South-Western salient between the Solway and the Firth of Clyde presented a contrast. The climate was wet and mild, the pasture good and stock important with grain subsidiary. In Lower Clydesdale and northern Ayrshire, the location encouraged the specialised production of milk, butter and cheese as well as beef to meet the demands of the Glasgow market, but the remoter coasts of Carrick and Galloway could now take advantage of the new steam transport to export cattle and their less perishable dairy products to Liverpool as well as the Clyde.②

North of the Forth, the area of Central and East Scotland presented a great variety of cultures largely related to local differences of soil. The coastal sills and raised beaches of Fife and Angus, the heavy clays and alluvium of the Carses of Forth and Tay, the "Old Red" straths and howes from

Menteith through Strathearn and Strathmore to the Howe of the Mearns showed types of improved and less improved agriculture, often related to the movement of stock from the adjacent areas of hill pasture like the Ochils or from the Grampian face of the nearer Highlands. But much of this area had not yet received its characteristic 19th century form; the development, for instance, of the "blackland" and the heavy clays of the carses waited for a more effective technique of draining and the nice adjustment of complicated rotations, while elsewhere the spread of "turnip husbandry" associated with improved stock feeding had yet to work out its effects on what had been considered relatively poor soils. (3)

The exposed north-eastern hump of Aberdeenshire, however, had already entered on its specific line of development. The country was traditionally a cattle area with an associated type of organisation in small farms and a definite style of living. The new steamship connections with the South gave regular and quick access to market; the area was confirmed in its speciality and an 18th century régime continued, intact and efficient, into the 19th century. Beyond Aberdeenshire and along the narrowing coastal strip bordering both shores of the Moray Firth were isolated areas of arable where special advantages of shelter, warm soil and summer sun encouraged the growth of the hardier cereals. Here were favoured localities like the Laigh o' Moray, with Elgin as its centre, the lands of Ferintosh near Inverness and the low and sheltered Black Isle of Ross, conspi-

cuous in its winter darkness with the white circle of hills behind it. Into such areas stock was moved from the exposed hill country for shelter and fattening and the surplus grain was exported to the Highlands or to the numerous fishing communities of the coast or to the southern markets, but it was also consumed in the local distilleries each associated with a water supply of peculiar virtue. At Morven the coastal belt was broken by the mountain mass of this name; beyond was the special rural economy of the detached and exposed lowland of Caithness. (4)

The Highlands present a special problem of definition and description. Their margins can be related to the adjacent areas of lowland with which they exchanged stock for grain, and where the domestic industries of the preceding century still attempted to expand. In the interior, a specialised sheep-farming was organised as an intrusive "great industry" and its social consequences accepted; in contrast, the north-west coast and the western islands showed the survival of an economy based on small-scale cattle-rearing and local fishing and a society exposed to recurrent crises of over-population and unable to attract satisfactory industries. But the many aspects of Highland development and the peculiar interaction of economic change and cultural tradition make it necessary to isolate the area beyond the Highland Line for special treatment.

But regional variety was characteristic of the whole country from Galloway and the Borders to Caithness and beyond.

Within the general economic and social transition each area pursued an individual development that often carried with it traditions of great historical depth. There was in Scotland no official recognition of province or pays, but their identities persisted and their names were in popular usage. The standardising influences of the market and the town were increasing, but they were still met and modified by a positive counteraction; the area responded to the market by specialised production, and the town functioned as a regional centre. The vitality of local sentiment long held up the development of the "bureaucratic" state and its "tyranny;" even such national institutions as church and school responded to the pressure of the same underlying but powerful force.

(ii)

For the treatment of the varieties of rural society the prevailing localism can be reduced to a three-point arrangement of contrasting types: the high farming of the Lothians with its relative emphasis on grain; the specialised stock-farming of the North-East; the cattle and dairy farming of the South-West. Between these were the Central Lowlands. At the opening of the century, their numerous local practices were beginning to be affected by the appearance of the large farm of the Lothian type. Modified to suit its new environment, its expansion was further stimulated by the technical improvements which got under way after 1825. Each of these agricultures can be

related to a distinctive regional life and outlook.

The North-East, and in particular the hump of Aberdeenshire known as Buchan, can be studied as a successful example of a local regime of medium-sized farms. The husbandry was mixed but the rearing of stock was dominant, and skill in breeding and feeding enabled these northern farmers to take advantage of their improved connections with the southern markets. Oats and roots were the supporting crops for feed and straw, and with grass they formed an effective rotation. This farming benefited especially from the rapid spread of turnip cultivation; the cool summers and the mild autumns of the area provided very favourable conditions of growth and the root cleaned the soil as well as fed the stock.

The farms were usually of medium size, on an average of from 120 to 150 acres. They were often family affairs, worked by the farmer and his sons. Extra labour was often supplied by an unmarried man hired by the half-year or the year and boarded with his employer. Near poor or hilly country, a married farm-servant might be employed who was also a crofter, working his own small holding and supplementing his income from it by wages. He would be hired for nine months, with three months' freedom in summer to look after his own, to gather in his peats or to work as a labourer; at harvest he returned to the farm and worked there till Whitsun. The routine work on his croft would be done by his family. But the stock-and-grain farmer of this area might find some difficulty in securing un-

skilled labour for the rush seasons, and the need for it increased with the spread of turnip cultivation. At the opening of the century the employment of women in spring and summer was not yet common; the wives of the crofters would have enough to do about their own places, and in addition, as long as spinning and knitting brought in a supplementary income, these domestic crafts were preferred to farm work. But the decay of alternative occupation made them less independent and with the spread of the new crop their employment on the farms stretched out over more of the active year.(2)

The specialised farming of this area was indeed in a state of very active expansion. The farmer spared neither himself nor his family, and comfort and style were still subsidiary values. But he was his own master and the work called for a trained and versatile intelligence. The rewards of skill, management and thrift were directly apparent and made up for long hours and intense application. Nor was this farmer isolated; his shrewd buying and selling in the market brought him into contact with his fellows and the expanding demand meant opportunity and movement both for himself and his sons. The initial capital required to set up a farm was not prohibitive. The young farmer trained with his father, invested his savings in stock and eventually rented his farm, perhaps with the assistance of the bank and on the security of his relations. Even if this were not possible, such moral qualities as drive, responsibility and thrift combined with habits of intellectual de-

cision to make the transition to business easy. The young man moved to Aberdeen and further, for from this northern point of view London was only a stage beyond Leith. But the influence of the regional capital was exercised in another way. Its two universities with their numerous small bursaries offered the chance to enter the professions, and the whole educational system of the North-East adjusted itself to preparing the ambitious for the pulpit or the surgery. In its intellectual as well as its material pursuits, this rural society exhibited an intense energy and a marked individualism related to its base of initial equality and range of opportunity. Its outlook was still inspired by its inherited 18th century values; it kept its faith in open competition and hard work, and success was expected as the reward of an efficient virtue.

The medium-sized family farm was also general in the stock-rearing districts of the South-West, but in certain favoured parts an intense specialisation in dairy-farming was creating a distinct economic form. When a Lothian farmer like George Robertson of Cramond moved into the high dairying area of Cunningham in Northern Ayrshire his business as a land agent as well as his professional experience made him aware of the local diversity. He found here a relatively wide distribution of landed property. In addition to the great landowners like the Earls of Eglinton, there were numerous small proprietors who farmed for themselves and formed a "yeoman" class unusual in the Scottish countryside. There were also many "bonnet

lairds," their heritable property a house, a garden, a few acres, a small farm on the outskirts of the towns. They might make their living by industry, many as carriers in this developing industrial area or by "driving coals" from pit-head to port. Their small properties made them independent and gave them an advantage over their competitors who had to pay high rents for the small parcels of land necessary for the stabling and grazing of their horses.

In this district there was little distinction between the tenant-farmers and the smaller proprietors who were resident and active farmers. The dominant agricultural organisation was the dairy farm, of between 50 and 150 acres, leased at a yearly rent of rather more than £1 an acre. But more important than acreage was the actual number of cows carried on the farm; the number varied with soil, situation, available capital and special skill. In the larger farms with a reputation for cheese-making there would be as many as 40 or 50 cows; a middle farm might have 20 and in small farms devoted to butter-making only 10 or fewer. This special type of agriculture was now in a state of rapid expansion as new communications brought it nearer its markets. In the larger farms a division of labour between the agricultural and the manufacturing aspects of production was apparent. The farmer let his cows to a "professed milkman" for the season at so much an animal; he provided the dairy vessels, summer pasture and winter fodder, housing and litter. As he had horses he also carted and carried; but the dairyman

or "boor" had charge of the milking, making and disposal of the product, especially if of a perishable nature. As quality depended on the skill of the dairy-maids, the boor hired them himself and paid them relatively high wages, but they lived with the farmer while the boor was given a cottage.(5) Under this arrangement called "boyening" or "bowing" many of the details were still settled by use and wont, but in effect the farmer sub-let certain duties to a worker of special training and responsibility and gave him a chance to make a profit by his own industry and initiative.(6) The practice naturally appeared possible only on the larger dairy farms, but to the old-fashioned, the cause of its expansion was nothing so impersonal as the "division of labour;" the prosperous farmer's wife was becoming too refined to do her duty in her own milk-house.(7)

But outside the areas of high specialisation, the family farm was still prevalent in the South-West. It was worked by the farmer and his sons, with the wife and daughters active in the milk-house. If extra labour were necessary, young unmarried men were preferred, but a medium-sized farm would not have to employ more than one or two hired hands. They were often sons of neighbouring farmers expecting to become farmers themselves, and they learned and saved to that end. There was no social distinction between master and man; the man ate and lived with the master and his family on terms of equality, and in this "kitchen system" a paternal supervision on the part of the farmer was both possible and expected.(8) In the family farm,

too, the women had a definite economic importance as dairy experts. Demand would be attracted to products of special excellence and reliable quality, and training was necessary. The daughter of a small farmer would get this and good money as a dairy-maid under a master or mistress of reputation and after marriage she would be as active and as important as her husband in gaining the family income.(9) Nor did the small Ayrshire farm have difficulty in securing unskilled labour at the rush seasons; this was supplied from the numerous small towns and large villages of a semi-industrialised area or came over from Ireland and the Highlands for the appropriate season.(10)

A diffused prosperity and a wide range of opportunity characterised this economy even away from the areas of intensive development. The farmers were hard-working, independent, thrifty and optimistic. Training was necessary but not yet formulated beyond the practice of living and learning. The initial capital required for a small farm could be accumulated by thrift, for personal expenses were low, and this was supplemented by credit obtained on the security of a father or a master. Stock could be bought animal by animal, and protected by insurance. And in this sociable countryside, the farmers' clubs promoted the active circulation of improved methods, saving devices and news of possible openings. After a young farmer established himself the process of saving and the purchase of improved stock went on: his aim was to move towards or into the areas of special advantage: the dairying centre of Cunning-

ham or the ring of farms round the towns where intensive cropping was made possible by the use of town manure. But the new communications by sea benefited also the outlying areas hitherto handicapped by their isolation, and a rising prosperity came to the grazing farm of the Galloway coast.

The mobility and optimism of this rural society has also to be related to the wide range of possible employments outside agriculture. The commercial and industrial expansion of the area offered opportunity, and if the moral and intellectual emphasis was here less strong than in the North-East, the Ayrshire farmer was never so pressed for labour nor so indifferent as to be unable or unwilling to give his family the necessary schooling. The farmer's son who wanted a change could usually find relatives or friends to help him enter business in the Ayrshire towns or in Glasgow. Even the farm labourer could find employment in carting and carrying, and in consequence of this alternative demand his wages remained fairly. With the agricultural changes after 1825, life and work in such an arable area as Central Ayrshire became less amiable; the spread of turnips and the production of early potatoes on the favoured Ayrshire coast emphasised the importance of unskilled labour introduced from outside and driven forward in a succession of rush operations. But even then, the individual farms remained under a size of 100 acres and the "family" tradition persisted between those permanently employed on them.(11)

The third situation to which reference must be made is

the appearance of the large grain-and-stock farm in those areas of the Central Lowlands where sun, shelter and warm soil encouraged attention to the cultivation of cereals and roots and the fattening of stock. The complex background and the process of innovation can be illustrated from the activities of those Lothian farmers, some of them "professional improvers," who were attracted northwards when the rising war prices made the venture worth while.

They found themselves in a society of many gradations: middling and small farmers, crofters, rural artisans and possibly fishers as well. George Robertson, who was "improving" in the Mearns about 1808, classified the holdings in his neighbourhood as follows: some large farms of 400 acres or so in the Lothian style; the average arable farm of between 100 and 150 acres; numerous small farms of 30 and 40 acres, and "pendicles" of 5 or 6 acres, held directly from the proprietor by a tenant whose major occupation might lie outside agriculture altogether. (12)

In a situation like this the presence of the great farm led to some special developments. It aimed at the technical efficiency of its Lothian prototype but to achieve this and take advantage of the economies of large-scale production it required supplies of skilled and unskilled labour. This meant plowmen, from 2 to 8 in number, and a reserve of workers for the rush seasons.

The large farm might employ married plowmen, hired year after year, settled in cottages on the farm and paid, as in

the Lothians, in allowances and the keep of a cow as well as in money. But because of the absence of cottages or the expense of this superior type of labour or dislike of the complicated methods of payment, the hinding system was not dominant north of the Forth. In some parts of Perthshire the system was simplified to allowances of "meal and milk;" in other areas and especially where a high proportion of horses was necessarily in use (as in clay and carse lands), young unmarried plowmen were preferred. To be near their animals they lived and slept in a farm outhouse or "bothy." This "bothy system" attracted attention and criticism from its inception; it was defended as necessary and condemned as demoralising. (13)

The bothymen were paid slightly higher money wages than the married men and they received allowances of meal, milk, potatoes and salt and they were also given fuel and light. But the bothies were rudely furnished; the men did their own cooking and living conditions were raw and unhealthy. The men were driven hard by long hours and heavy work. A responsible farmer might detail a woman servant to clean up the bothy and his wife might take some interest in the inmates. But many farmers felt no responsibility for them or their way of living. Youth, fatigue and congestion made them restless and careless; they sometimes resented interference. The resolute might be able to save, for expenses were low and they were permitted to sell the surplus of their allowances; but the temptation to waste was strong. The bothymen often changed from place to place until

they became semi-nomadic and these "bohemians of agriculture" acquired an unenviable reputation as disturbers of the peace and corrupters of the parish morals. They were accused of being extravagant in dress -- it was about the only permanent property they could possess -- and of being addicted to drink, cards, "bothy ballads" and nocturnal adventures; sometimes the strain of living in this fashion led to bullying and fighting. But even under the best conditions their situation was unsatisfactory. Some of the bothymen kept their self-respect and an inherited religious discipline; in others the feeling of resentment at their misery and exploitation was to express itself later in Radical and Chartist sympathies or in a determination to emigrate.

The second labour difficulty of the great farm was the supply of general and temporary workers. In such an area as the Mearns, the general workers would be local crofters and labourers, hired from day to day or from week to week to assist the regular farm servants "in all desultory operations," while their women-folk performed the routine work of the croft and made an income from their domestic industries. At harvest time temporary workers were especially necessary in this area where there were no large towns and no influx of migrants; without local assistance the harvest could not be taken in quickly enough. To secure themselves, farmers would allow the local labourers and artisans "a bit of land, as much as they can muck, for potatoes...In return, they assist them in all throng times

with their labour, especially in harvest..." But crofters, artisans and weavers alike were an independent lot. They lived in their own houses each with its garden, its plot and its line of beehives; but the site was convenient for water and firing rather than the needs of the farm, and if they had built on feu or on long lease they could not be moved. With the expansion of root crops, the need of a reserve of labour became all the more pressing until the decay of domestic occupations eased the situation by making the wives and daughters of crofters and weavers less independent of other earnings. (15)

The entry of the great farm into this part of Scotland thus produced a series of debateable consequences. It required to be a certain size to reach its maximum efficiency and its scientific technique enabled it to clear and use what had once been regarded as inferior soil. But the drive of this efficient engine of production seemed to demoralise the human instruments that it seemingly could not dispense with. It required a reserve of semi-skilled labour which came from an old-fashioned population of crofters and artisans. The need for this was apparent at harvest and increased with the spread of root cultivation. Yet the supply tended to be progressively displaced by the advance of the type of farm which employed it; where it remained, the drive and discipline that it found on the farm contrasted sharply with the pace and independence of its previous occupations.

The great farm and its social implications have been

here selected for examination, but it was still exceptional, and any over-emphasis has to be checked by a detailed study of the local situation. The new apparatus of production was put down among a range of other agricultural and semi-agricultural holdings; these could take advantage of differences of soil, supporting industries or relative isolation and were also associated with more traditional styles of living. It is true that after 1825 the new drainage and the new manuring helped to spread "turnip husbandry" over inferior soils, and the heavy clays of the carselands responded to other types of "high-farming." But the "background" to this quickening pace of improvement should be given a positive importance. The middle and small farms still covered an extensive area and employed a very considerable population, whose attitude to agricultural change was not particularly passive and might indeed express itself in the transposed terms of political and ecclesiastical controversy.(16)

PART II - URBAN AND INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION.

1. Edinburgh.
2. Glasgow and the West.
3. The North East.
4. The Small Town.

1.

EDINBURGH.

(i)

In the post-war decades Scottish opinion became quickly aware of the scope and consequences of urban expansion. In 1811, 18.5% of the total population of 1,800,000 was living in the eight largest towns and two of these, Edinburgh and Glasgow, had for the first time exceeded 100,000. Thirty years later, the total population of the country was 2,620,000 but 25% of this number was now living in the same eight largest towns; one of these, Glasgow, exceeded the quarter-million mark and accounted for 10% of the total inhabitants of the country, while Edinburgh and Leith together made up another 6%. It was estimated that for the same period those dependent on agriculture had sunk from 35% to 22%. There was thus both an absolute and a relative increase of the town populations.

In its many aspects this urban expansion presented a nice series of problems. There were the major one of the processes of expansion as controlled or otherwise, the development of an urban economy, the growth of municipal government and particular municipal services. There was also the elaboration of an urban way of living and an urban point of view, the first related to the pressure of the environment on the focal points of

home and work, worship and recreation, the second coming to expression through new and appropriate agencies of public opinion and action. Informed by traditions of civic patriotism, new standards of decency and amenity began to be accepted. But it was also apparent that social distances and class distinctions were growing, and the conspicuous and sometimes threatening evidences of social failure had to be judged by various standards and treated by various policies, old and new, public and private. Nor must the interaction of the town and the countryside be forgotten. There was a movement inward of goods to be consumed and of people to be re-educated to an urban existence, either from the circumjacent province or from such a distance that the migrants, though economically useful, stood out by their difference in speech, living habits and religion. And in the reverse direction, the town exported at short or long range its specialised services and manufactures, while its conventions of comfort and elegance as well as its intellectual and moral novelties penetrated an accepting or resisting sphere of influence.

But as in the treatment of rural change, urban expansion is best given a particular setting; the general problems serve as necessary guides to the analysis of the evidence but the localism of Scottish town life must not be lost in generalisation. The range of variety and contrast may be briefly indicated. Of the two great cities, Edinburgh presented the expansion of an old capital and <u>kultur-stadt</u> that suggested Munich or Dresden; Glasgow, with its medieval cathedral and university

foundation, was a regional centre that had become an 18th century entrepot and was now supporting its export trade by an early 19th century specialisation in textiles, coal and iron and the developing engineering crafts. Aberdeen and Dundee offered a similar contrast of a regional capital and a manufacturing centre based on imported raw materials and staple production for extended and overseas markets. The smaller towns show the wide range of local individuality. There were old historical centres and county towns like Perth, Stirling, Ayr, Dumfries, Inverness and Elgin, balanced in growth and dignified in style, and in contrast, such "staple" towns as Paisley, Kilmarnock and Dunfermline where a large working-class population gave the place its peculiar vitality and reputation. There were groups of towns that carried a small-scale economy and the savour of local tradition into the 19th century: the row of fishing ports of the East Neuk of Fife, or along the Moray Firth; the old "sea-coal and salt" towns of the upper Forth like Kincardine and Culross; the sleepy village burghs of Galloway. With these should be contrasted the isolated factory villages using water-power, like Deanston, New Lanark, Ballindalloch and Catrine, the rapid growth of the new hosiery and "tweed" centres of Hawick and Galashiels in the Border country, or the line of small "woollen and weaving" villages and towns at the base of the Ochils or along the Grampian face from Crieff to Kirriemuir. A more recent development was appearing in the confluent growth of population engaged in the mines, iron-foundries and factories round Falkirk, Coatbridge

and Hamilton or concentrated in the bleaching and dyeing centres of the Vale of Leven or attracted to the expanding shipyards of the Clyde.(2)

In this variety of persistence and change, the historic past was not entirely effaced. Of the 8 largest towns, only one, Greenock, had not played a conspicuous part in the national history. Towns like Paisley and Dunfermline had their great medieval abbeys. Falkirk had seen the Carron Ironworks rise only fifteen years after the Jacobite army had won its last victory; and its great October cattle "trysts" made it as well known as did its cannon and its stoves. Even around such "new" towns as Airdrie and Kilmarnock, the moors and hills were sanctified by living stories of Covenanting piety and sacrifice. Here in the small compass of the Lowland valley, material prosperity and intellectual excitement came to an area of rich historic memories, and a local enthusiasm persisted into and through the social changes of the period. This was part of the complicated situation; for the pace of progress was such as to cut many off from a usable past and to make their present meaningless by any inherited standards, while for others, the new society was obviously the logical resultant of those principles and practices which had hitherto blessed their country and given it distinction.(3)

(ii)

Until arrested by the economic crisis of 1825, the expansion of Edinburgh had been more conspicuous and more influen-

tial than even that of Glasgow. This was due to its position as a capital city, with a spread of old-fashioned industries and a concentration of national institutions that gave it prestige. In the first quarter of the 19th century, its population almost doubled, rising from 80,000 to over 150,000. The census of 1831 showed its characteristic economic and social composition. It was by repute and in fact a residential city with a large population of "bankers, professional men and capitalists," skilled craftsmen and others engaged in retail trade, personal service or general labour. It was the legal, ecclesiastical and medical centre of the country; its schools and colleges attracted middle class families from outside Scotland by their cheapness and their reputation; its banks and insurance offices handled the wealth of a country with widely diffused habits of thrift and investment; as a publishing centre it was the rival of London. The stable purchasing power of its large professional and <u>rentier</u> class and the constant stream of country visitors and tourists made it an important retail centre with its own standards of elegance and traditions of workmanship adapted to Scottish needs and taste.

Behind this commerce and traffic, there were few staple industries, but a wide variety of relatively small enterprises exploited local advantages and built up a specialised demand. There were small occupations subsidiary to the professions of law and medicine; the literary eminence of the town, the enterprise of its booksellers and publishers and the low costs of production

made it a great printing centre which drew its supplies of paper from its environs and benefited from the skill and intelligence of an exceptionally well educated group of workmen.(2) Some of the artistic crafts of the old Court-town still flourished; the masons, cabinet-makers, jewellers and needle-workers of the city had a long tradition of excellence behind them. There was a more popular demand for Edinburgh ale, beer and spirits. The breweries drew their supplies of grain from the surrounding area of high-farming in the Lothians and utilised a distinctive local water-supply while the products of Highland distillation matured in the storage vaults of the exporting firms at Leith. At the port also there gathered various industries connected with the making, fitting and provisioning of ships; some, like sugar-refining, soap-boiling and glass-blowing, had developed from imported raw materials; others had been attracted by the convenient storage of such commodities as coal, grain and timber.(3) Even such domestic specialities as biscuits, cakes and confections were developing into appreciable businesses to meet the needs of tourists and a growing demand for export.(4) Beneath these varied crafts and occupations existed a reserve of semi-skilled and general labour. It found employment in transport, road-making, building, at the docks and in domestic service. At turnip-time and harvest some of it was hired at the West Port for farm work. It filled up the poorer quarters of the city, recruited by natural increase and by the influx of rural immigrants. Among these the Highlanders and Irish were distinguish-

able and so possibly more conspicuous than their numbers warranted. (5)

Edinburgh was also the centre of an extensive regional development which supported its economic position. The grain-and-stock-farming in the Lothian plain and the sheep-farming of the Lothian uplands were alike stimulated by the financial and commercial services of the city. There was something like a modest ring of subsidiary industries round it. In the valley of the Lothian Esk was a local concentration of coal-mining, paper-making and some textile manufacturing. Along the Lothian coast survived an 18th century conjunction of coal, salt and fishing supplemented by subsidiary rope and sail making; this traffic was encouraged by the new harbours at Newhaven, Granton and Musselburgh as well as at Leith. Beyond the limits of the small, old-fashioned coal-field lay a string of small bathing and golfing villages just beginning to be fashionable. To the west of the city were the quarries which supplied its excellent building-stone. But this landscape was as yet unmarked in the distance by the lofty "bings" of the Lothian oil-shale industry and it was not until Bathgate was reached that small coal-pits began to appear again. Meanwhile, at the sheltered base of the Pentlands was a line of country seats and small residential villages with their occasional flour-, paper- and snuff-mills; these looked out over a highly farmed plain where a better climate and an advantageous situation encouraged the production of milk for the urban market. (6)

Beyond the immediate environs of the city spread out its financial, business and professional hinterland, expanding with improved communications and the growing appeal of town goods and services. By the end of the war the improved road system of the engineers of the age of Telford demonstrated the advantages and the limitations of Edinburgh's nodal position between the Pentlands and the Firth. From the south, the London traffic came in by Berwick and Dunbar or over Carter Bar and Soutra, taking under 45 hours to do a journey of 400 miles. Westwards, the roads diverged to the ferries crossing the Firth, or turned north by Stirling bridge, or mounted the high moors south-westwards to Lanark and Carlisle; but the most used roads were those to Falkirk and Glasgow and the 44 miles to the latter city were covered by coach in 6 hours. The increasing movement of bulky and heavy commodities, however, presented a problem. In 1822 a waterway was built to connect Edinburgh with the Forth and Clyde Canal 31½ miles away, but the movement of grain and coal along it was limited by faults of construction; it was too shallow, there were 11 locks and no connection was provided with the port of Leith. Railway development in this area began with some small experimental projects. In 1827 an 8-mile line was planned to connect the eastern side of Edinburgh with Dalkeith and the Lothian coalfield. Opened in 1831, this "Innocent Railway" could use only horse-power with stationary engines on the sharp inclines, yet it moved an appreciable amount of grain and coal to the city and manure and refuse away from it and the in-

crease of its passenger traffic showed the need for regular transport within a short radius of the city. But the connections between Edinburgh and Leith were unsatisfactory. The traffic of the Port justified the opening of new basins by the city authorities in 1806 and 1817 and a regular omnibus service catered for the convenience of the large number of passengers who found the sea-trip the cheaper way to London. In 1830 this passenger traffic was stimulated by the first steamship services operating between the Forth and the Thames. In 1836 a Railway Act was procured to connect Edinburgh, Leith and Newhaven by steam transport, but it was only in 1843 that the first section of the line was finished, and an inconvenient terminus built on the edge of the New Town.

But this limited phase of railway projection was already passing. In 1842 the first line connecting Edinburgh and Glasgow was opened for traffic, and with the rapid construction of a net of trunk railways the economic hinterland of the city expanded at an increasing pace and its social influence penetrated deeper into the countryside.

(iii)

With all this expansion, Edinburgh had undergone a spatial and social rearrangement.

The Old Town from the Castle to the Palace had been confined by the ravines on either side; it had expanded upwards and then beyond its walls southwards where on a parallel but

lower ridge the High School, the University, Greyfriar's Church and Churchyard and Heriot's Hospital overlooked the deep line of the West Port, the Grassmarket and the Cowgate. But the great bridges constructed since 1770 over the depressions hemming the city had made possible the building of the carefully planned New Town and had provided access to the southern suburbs. By 1825 the New Town had been extended eastwards and westwards in a burst of spectacular building and the central part of Edinburgh now displayed its amazing contrasts of plan, structure and style.

The lay-out of the New Town was the work of architects employed by the Town Council as superior of the land and the scheme was continued by the proprietors whose adjacent property benefited. There had been nearly a half-century of building and this displayed all the change in classical taste from the Palladian style of the Adams to the strict Doric of the age of Greek Independence. The Gothic sky-line of the Old Town drew the eye away from the somewhat undistinguished buildings of Princes Street which had not been designed with any expectation of its future, but the central line of George Street showed a more monumental display; at its eastern end rose Trajan's Column as the Dundas Monument, surrounded by the classical facades of the banks and insurance offices of St. Andrew's Square; at its western end the dome of St. George's Parish Church dominated the Adams' masterpiece of Charlotte Square. The classical motifs were repeated in the area surrounding the Calton Hill; be-

neath the unfinished Parthenon, an effective memorial to those fallen in the Napoleonic Wars, the magnificent Doric terraces looked over Holyrood to Arthur's Seat and the Temple of Theseus was to reappear as the Royal High School. To the westward, squares, crescents and circuses of an overwhelming strength and dignity were continued to the deep glen of the Water of Leith, now spanned by Telford's Dean Bridge, and they descended northwards beyond Queen Street and its gardens to the site of the new Edinburgh Academy. This was the legal quarter, whence the advocates could walk across Princes Street and up the Mound to the Court of Session in the Old Town. No provision was made in these plans for factory sites, but in between the great squares were narrower streets and lanes for those engaged in the crafts and services this well-to-do population demanded. There was also a numerous subterranean population of domestic servants.

Henry Cockburn, in whose vivid pages this Edinburgh comes to life, associated the later expansion of the New Town with the years of war prosperity. Between Trafalgar and Waterloo, Edinburgh was all animation and bustle. There was much military business and a background of agricultural profits; land values were rising and fashion and profit combined to encourage building. There were no political divisions in society in those mid years of war when invasion was threatened and volunteers were active, only the unifying excitements of patriotism, prosperity and literary glory. The tradition of 18th century upper-class manners which had developed in the intimacy

of life in the Old Town still survived for a generation or so in the New; but this, "The last purely Scottish age," was increasingly diluted and refined by English contacts and influence, and the cultivation of a more approved accent employed a numerous tribe of Sophists and Masters of Elocution. But the social ranks still kept their appropriate distances while everything was "excited and rose-coloured by the glorious waste under which the nation's and the city's debt grew."(3)

The new pattern of elegant living continued its rapid elaboration between 1815 and 1830. This was the Edinburgh of Henry Mackenzie's old age, of Scott's frequent visits from Abbotsford, of Jeffrey and Cockburn in their middle period of hope and activity. Here in the New Town were Constable's and Blackwood's, the Review and the Magazine; the Music Hall and the social Assemblies in George Street; Dr. Andrew Thomson's preaching and psalmody at St. George's and the new Gothic and Episcopal chapel of St. John's at the West End of Princes Street; the Theatre Royal at its East End and the eating places behind the Register House celebrated in the Noctes Ambrosianae. In and of this Edinburgh were the lawyers, professors and bankers, the more distinguished or successful clergy and doctors, the retired naval and military officers, the maiden ladies, of independent means and mind and expert in genealogy, the visiting landed connections and county families. Here were the finishing schools for girls, the select rather than fashionable shops and the improved "family hotels" for the tourists. It was the educated and prosperous

inhabitants of this section of the city that encouraged the Music Festival of 1814; they saw Mrs. Siddons in 1810 (and in a benefit performance for her grandchildren in 1815) and Edmund Kean in 1816. They patronised the Art Exhibition of 1819 and the first Scottish performance of "Rob Roy" in the same year. They welcomed George IV to their capital in 1822. They supported the numerous literary, historical and scientific societies of the time; read and sometimes contributed to its reviews and magazines; attended some public lectures and many private dinners. By 1830 they were sufficiently sophisticated to appreciate "The Marriage of Figaro," "Der Freischütz," and "Don Giovanni." (4)

But after 1815 there were increasing evidences of change, criticism and external pressure. Henry Cockburn reported the deaths of the "interesting old" and the gap in the production of fresh excellence. The eminent retired to country estates within a short ride of town. The enterprising young were drawn to London, and the distinguished visitors to the Continent. There was still a diffusion of talent and knowledge and an increasing comfort and style, but the old security of the Edinburgh "Select" based on inherited position and strengthened by Scots individuality and taste was progressively threatened. Political and religious discussion revived and Henry Cockburn saw "a new race of peace-formed native youth come on the stage but with little literature and a comfortless intensity of political zeal" which concerned itself more with

the details of civic finance than the Rights of Man. The merchants were no longer "too subservient to be feared." The Commercial Bank, founded in 1810, dealt with their money and not their station or their politics. The "Scotsman" began to circulate their ideas from 1817 onwards at 10d a weekly copy. In a series of public meetings, the old municipal regime was undermined by specific demands for efficiency, publicity and representation.(5) The lower orders were also active. The "Tron Riot" of 1812 revealed the existence of a demoralised population in the Old Town and the need of police and prevention. With the Peace came unemployment, radical agitation, the pervasive nuisance of mendicity and the menace of fever. In 1824 - 25 the financial crisis brought the period of magnificent expansion to a dead stop; the tradition of town-planning broke and the growth of mean buildings round the edges of the New Town was to be made permanent by the arrival of the railways.(6)

Thus the afterglow of the great age faded. The pattern of living in the New Town became comfortable and conservative. The importance of inherited wealth increased; the standards of refinement rose with the sanitary innovations of the Forties and the increased facilities for travel and sport in the Fifties. But the New Town of Edinburgh never became a Faubourg St. Germain. It was essentially a professional, not an aristocratic society, and it kept the bourgeois emphasis on family training and religious observance, the obligation of acceptable work, professional standards of responsibility and the

enjoyment of a sober intellectual culture. If there was less direct activity in local affairs, this was not entirely a defensive retreat from the rough-and-tumble of more democratic politics but a sign of increasing response to the occupation rather than the locality. And in the occupation there was a regime of selective competition. The entry into the professional group was, if limited by the expenses of preparation, at least relatively open to talent. Social recognition still followed professional distinction, and economic security permitted the continuous growth of a powerful technical tradition that was re-interpreted to a wider public. It is true that the education of the next generation had to be adapted to its chance of wider economic and social opportunities, and this might justify the foundation of the Edinburgh Academy and the small preparatory school that was later to become Loretto. Even so, law and medicine retained a peculiar identity with the city, and civic duty could be directly performed in professional terms. The lawyers played a prominent part on the various committees that directed each good cause and the great doctors of the period translated their local experience of dispensary and infirmary into reports distinguished alike for their science, their humanity and their style. By this trained and active benevolence, the professional classes still recognised the obligation laid on them to enlighten and lead.

(iv)

By 1830 Edinburgh presented a series of contrasting districts, and if the city retained its traditional unity, its public opinion was becoming a composite reflection of an intricate social pattern.

Each district was identifiable by its economic use and dominant occupation, its range of land values and rents, its style of building and its social reputation. The Old Town was now declining into a slum; the merchants had followed the professional classes out of it, and an increasing population of semi- and unskilled workers, of whom a considerable number was Irish, was pushing out the remaining skilled craftsmen from their accustomed sites. The historic areas of the Canongate and the Grassmarket presented aspects of acute urban demoralisation. In an environment of overcrowded and insanitary tenements, some of them of age-old construction, the churches and schools, relief institutions and dispensaries, seemed to exist ineffectively alongside spirit-shops, cheap lodging-houses and pawnbroking dens. Occasionally such a sensation as the trial of Burke and Hare revealed the malign squalor behind the picturesque historic façade.

There were also areas of relative congestion inhabited by a respectable working and lower middle-class population. The great planning schemes omitted to provide sites for industry and apart from local concentrations such as the breweries near Holyrood or the industries attracted to the Docks, the

small trades of the capital and those employed in them were crowded on the south flank of the Old Town or distributed along the old routes out of the city or in the sunken valley of the Water of Leith. Here the tradition of lofty utilitarian construction persisted, and the result was a ribbon-development of high tenements with basement workshops and a huddle of sheds, stables, dairies and middens in the rear. At their worst, such areas were never very far from the open space of public Meadows or Links or Royal Park, but they tended to deteriorate with the expansion of the city and their further development often thrust a wedge of concentrated building into a relatively open residential district. (2)

Further from the centre and especially on the South Side away from the New Town spread the suburbs of the more prosperous middle classes. Merchants and shopkeepers no longer lived over their business nor were they confined, like the lawyers, to a restricted area. They took up feus on the small estates round the capital and their Classical and Gothic villas enclosed an occasional 17th century mansion as they expanded along the roads to the residential suburbs of Newington and Morningside. These now acquired a reputation for gentility as well as health. (3)

But in all this variety, Edinburgh continued to be more than the sum of its parts. With the exception of the fierce local devotion which eventually secured for Leith its municipal independence, the civic tradition of the capital ad-

justed itself to include the expanded city in terms both of sentiment and utility. The Old Town remained an active centre of public business and ritual: the Court of Session, the General Assembly and the Town Council continued to meet there. The historic churches kept their congregations, though they might now be drawn from a wider area. There was a summer circulation of tourists down the High Street to Holyrood. But there was also an increasing awareness of the obligation of New Edinburgh to the Old. The tradition of good neighbourliness derived from the intimate contacts of common stair and close and had expressed itself in terms of personal relationships. The vocabulary remained but now the disturbing contrasts of wealth and poverty called for an organised philanthropy which could be justified as a necessary defence and insurance. For misery and vice refused to conceal themselves and called for repression as well as prevention. Shopkeepers and residents were alike disturbed by the brawling and thieving of gangs of youngsters. Beggars and prostitutes were importunate, and the multiplicity of grog-shops encouraged a violent drunkenness which made the public ways sometimes dangerous and often offensive. It was this pit of misery which justified the emphatic distinction between the good and the bad, the respectable and the dissolute, which was characteristic of more than a middle-class point of view. For many, refinement was not a treat but a necessity. But the interdependence of classes was most convincingly proved by the epidemics. Their

causation was a matter of medical investigation but they were associated with areas of social degradation which remained a constant threat to the whole city. Treatment implied a common policy enforced by authority and with the recurrence of these scourges the conventional attitude of social non-intervention had to give way to more or less permanent measures of coercion and finally to policies of eradication and prevention.

In these circumstances, public interest was concerned to build up a municipal economy and a municipal "community." The city called for paving, police and fire protection, for utilities such as water and gas, for sanitation and the disposal of waste. But public decency was as urgent a necessity as water and gas, and a policy of religious and educational expansion was the obvious counterpart to the official and auxiliary agencies of repression and relief. These problems of post-war urbanism blew away the romantic optimism of the war; but their very range and scope confused the attack. The provision of water and gas was like a business that could be left to semi-private enterprise; public order was the concern of the municipal authorities but the expansion of their police powers had to be secured by special Act of Parliament; poor relief was a legal obligation in which the city asked the co-operation of the clergy; social reclamation was largely a matter of church and school and their supplementary voluntary agencies; the problems of public health were professional affairs. What seemed lacking in this variety of aim, agency and method was a common

centre of operations and the movement for municipal reform can be regarded as the expression of this need. It was very conscious of its critical role as against the old regime, but it was also animated by a positive enthusiasm. A revival of civic patriotism united the Young Whig lawyers and the reforming and philanthropic business and professional men. (4) This wider citizenship was related to education and property; the active citizen was at once enlightened and responsible and a "public" of such became the source of power and the court of final appeal. Within this public there were varieties of attitude and interest which were to separate out as Whig, Liberal and Radical but it was unified by a common belief in the value of public investigation and discussion to be conducted by personal intercourse, public meeting and the circulation of newspaper and pamphlet. The "old order" conceived of municipal affairs as historically annexed to certain recognised institutions and their officials; on the other side were the uneducated and unpropertied, with their secret and tyrannical societies and their appeal to violence; in between was the "via media" of general principle and good will whereby municipal affairs were to be conducted with the responsibility of a lawyer acting for his clients or the "personal attention" which an honest and able business man gave to his customers.

From his secure social position, Henry Cockburn watched the spread of this civic consciousness with interest and some approval. With each instance of reviving criticism he

noticed the new vehicles of political expression and the increasing interaction of local and national affairs. With peace came criticism; but in contrast to the agitation of the unemployed or the riots of the underworld, there were "respectable" protests against slavery, the income tax, the designs of the Town Council on the amenities of the North Bridge. There was a chance to discuss general principles in their local connections with the provision of water and gas, the municipal management of Leith Docks or the relations between the Town Council and the University. In the special case of the increase, payment and efficiancy of the police, the machinery of democratic taxation and representation could be tried out as an earnest of wider application. The influence of a growing circulation of pamphlets and of the "Scotsman," founded in 1817, was supplemented by the device of the political banquet: the celebration of the memory of Burns or Fox permitted a semi-public expression of political views. In 1820 the Reverend Andrew Thomson asserted the rights of his order and his church in praying for Queen Caroline; in 1823 the public meeting at the Pantheon signalised the beginning of open and organised political agitation; in 1825 Jeffrey toasted the "Freedom of Labour" at the banquet given to Joseph Hume to celebrate the legal recognition of trade unionism. (5)

But the range of interests of the middle classes was much more than political, and their training in associated action proceeded through a multiplicity of religious, philan-

thropic and educational activities. There were societies for the control of begging, the provision of relief, the planting of schools, the distribution of bibles and tracts; there was an organised concern for savings banks, church extension, disestablishment, temperance. Many acquired extensive (and at times peculiar) views on Imperial policy and European affairs from an interest in foreign missions, the abolition of slavery, the work of the Bible Societies in Eastern Europe (condemned by Metternich as subversive and encouraged by the Tsar), the cause of Greek Independence (at once classical, christian and nationalist) or the millenarian expectation which led to the missions for Jewish conversion. At least one religious periodical, Andrew Thomson's "Christian Instructor," had a wide general influence, but increasingly during the Twenties a more secular enthusiasm sought expression in classes in political economy, Mechanics' Institutes, a diffusion of Useful Knowledge and General Enlightenment associated with cheap literature and phrenology. The range (and the confusion) of the intellectual excitement of the place and time may be briefly suggested: in 1822 the young Carlyle abandoned the "Gospel of Sorrow" and accepted the Everlasting Yea in Leith Walk; in 1824 MacCulloch gave his Lectures on Political Economy; in 1828 George Combe published his "Constitution of Man."

By 1830 Edinburgh was humming with good causes and transcendental schemes of human progress and perfection. Henry Cockburn was still a convinced Reformer but his appreciation

of the Utilitarian and Evangelical Renaissance was now more objective and critical. Unlike the Young Tories, who gored the new cults ferociously in Blackwood's, he never lost his humour and his sympathy, but his cool Whig taste was repelled by so many limited and half-baked panaceas, such hostility to classical training and philosophic balance, so much easy and popular culture. Yet in spite of folly there was promise: it was "gratifying to see hundreds of clerks and shopkeepers with their wives and daughters nibbling at the teats of science anyhow."(6)

(v)

The economic expansion of the city (and its arrest), the growth of an active citizenry and the intellectual excitement of the Eighteen Twenties must be set in contrast to the old and rigid municipal government which invited criticism as alike complicated, secret and inefficient.(7)

The Town Council consisted of 33 members; of these 19 were chosen by their predecessors and chose in turn their successors, and the remaining 14 were the deacons chosen by the 14 incorporated trades. But these gilds were small bodies; only two of them had over 50 brothers; their total membership was under 700 and the procedure of election was so complicated that it perpetuated the control of the Town Council over even the incoming members. These 33 members of the Council elected the city's member of parliament. Edinburgh had a population

of over 100,000; its inhabitants possessed property of above £400,000 annual value; there were above 10,000 householders who paid £5 or more in annual rent and were liable to police tax. If the principle of an occupational representation were stressed, the 14 recognised corporations were historical survivals; unrecognised were above 1200 merchant burgesses, the Merchant Company, the Chamber of Commerce; the Faculty of Advocates, and the Writers to the Signet; the Medical Colleges, the University, the clergy.[2]

Nor were the individuals who composed the Town Council conspicuous for their political idealism. A practical ability was probably less unknown among them than their critics were prepared either to admit or approve, but political decision was achieved by the pressure and counter-pressure of interest and clique; there was no publicity, no responsibility to an outside judgement, no tests of efficiency or honesty. An inner continuity of personnel so guaranteed in its position and so withdrawn from criticism was bound to become conscious of a vested interest in the administration of the city and to regard it as something like a property right. Indeed, the Deacons of the various trades in the Council claimed as a right to be employed in any public works and to charge their own prices, "and so the thing went comfortably round the Corporation ring."[3]

Municipal finance reflected this condition of affairs. Income was derived from a complex of unrelated sources -- ex-

cises on wines, ale, beer, market-dues, feu-duties and land rents, the shore dues at Leith, the annuity tax for the stipends of the city ministers, the seat rents of the city churches, poor rate and various other ad hoc assessments for roads, police and improvements. Much of this was earmarked for specific items, including the upkeep of the Docks, the contribution to the University, the support of the High School, the ministerial stipends, the building of the city churches and the detailed expenditures of each permitted assessment according to Act of Parliament. The incidence of taxation varied with the locality according to the historical conditions of its incorporation within the city limits. There were class exemptions which roused intense irritation: a numerous Dissenting population was compelled to pay the Annuity Tax for the ministerial stipends, but the Judges, the Advocates, the Writers to the Signet -- the wealthiest professional class in the city and possibly 800 to 1,000 in number -- were exempt as members of the College of Justice.④

There was also an increasing burden of debt, incurred for justifiable and other purposes. Some corruption was apparent and much more was guessed at. Town and gild property was mismanaged and alienated. In 1788 the debt had been reduced to £70,000; by 1833, it had risen to £400,000 with a further sum of over £220,000 advanced by the Government on the Leith Docks. Unable to pay the interest charges out of its limited free income, the City went bankrupt; an Act of 1832 seques-

trated its revenues and properties so far as available and appointed trustees for the benefit of its creditors.(5)

The old political order was thus discredited both nationally and locally in the same year, but the long survival of the unreformed regime helps to explain the direction of reform. Both the national and local situations were peculiarly open to the criticism of lawyers and business men with a common zest for exposure and a belief in the related principles of individual freedom and responsibility. Reform therefore meant the recognition of the active citizenry of the enlightened and the propertied; they were given the right to vote and their representatives were to secure for them public order, financial control and the abolition of privilege and monopoly. The municipal state was thus narrowed and its administrative capacities discounted by the record of the previous era. But on the other hand, the zone of free action, of voluntary and ad hoc political arrangement was extended and justified both practically and theoretically. Here the enterprising and benevolent middle classes had garnered experience and were thoroughly at home and successful. They saw few limits to the spread of the "voluntary state"; even the coercive monopoly of the trade unions, so puzzling to the enlightened, would dissolve eventually into voluntary relationships almost automatically adjustable as each party saw its true interest.(6)

The economic crisis of 1837 was to show that the working-class groups were not to be converted. Yet after 1815

and so before the end of the old regime, a series of problems presented themselves that were not manageable along "voluntary" lines. In a great medical centre like Edinburgh the response to the fever and cholera epidemics deserves close study. On this front a positive municipal advance in a new direction began to seem justifiable by new principles: the authority of technical knowledge, not common sense, was invoked; a comprehensive policy had to be administered, not left to discussion and voluntary effort, and a measure of control and coercion became acceptable even if only in an emergency.

2.

GLASGOW AND THE WEST.

(i)

The economic province of which Glasgow was the centre must now be surveyed and its characteristic developments in the early 19th century suggested. The picture presented was one of rapid expansion, economic flexibility and a transition between one phase of activity and another. The economic temper of the city and its hinterland was highly experimental; capital, business intelligence, technical skill and a reserve of labour were combined and recombined to take advantage of expanding markets, local resources and an increasingly strategic location developed by new means of transport. But at the same time the pace and variety of economic change produced such contrasting social consequences as to defy contemporary analysis. The optimism justified by commercial expansion, technical achievement and rising comfort was shadowed and threatened. The pitiful decay of the out-moded types of production, the strain and discipline of the new, the contrasts of wealth and misery, the conspicuous evidence of extensive social wreckage and the questionable quality of living offered for a life of work -- these and other aspects of progress raised bitter criticism as to its real efficiency, its justice and its humanity. Everywhere the interpenetration of old and new, good and bad, limited and confused the judgement.

Three specific developments can be used to illustrate the rate, temper and consequence of the change in this area between 1800 and 1840. There was, firstly, the extension of the commerce and transport of which Glasgow was the centre, particularly as due to the application of steam-power to movement by sea and land. There was, secondly, the concentration of textile production in the area, with its contrast between factory spinning and hand weaving and its increasing difficulties due to external competition and internal maladjustment. There was, thirdly, the rapid expansion of coal-mining, iron-making and the engineering crafts which initiated a new phase of economic development for the Clyde during the Eighteen-Thirties.

(a)

The city had an initial nodality as the point of intersection of routes passing up and down Strathclyde and across it between eastern and western lowlands. To the early bridge- and market-town had been added the traditions of a medieval bishopric and university. But it was only after the Union of 1707 that this regional capital developed into an entrepot with a range of speculative connections that touched North America and the West Indies on the one side and the Mediterranean and the Baltic on the other. The Glasgow merchant imported and redistributed tobacco and sugar and paid for them by return cargoes of fish, coal, salt and linen. A local banking system,

supported from the more mature financial centre of Edinburgh, offered long-term credit facilities, both at home and overseas. In contact with a wide range of varied markets and changing demands, the Glasgow traders and their agents developed flexible business methods and speculative daring combined with a reputation for shrewd judgement, a close bargain and a reliable bond.

Yet the economic versatility of Glasgow and its hinterland had to be demonstrated through a succession of economic crises which shifted its markets and redirected its capital. One such turning-point was the American War which closed the period of the tobacco trade. In response to their difficulties the business men of the city provided themselves with institutions of commercial defence and convenience, such as a new Exchange and a Chamber of Commerce, opened trading agencies in London and Ostend, began to deepen the Clyde systematically and to invest their unemployed funds in the manufacture of cotton goods. The war against Revolutionary France and Napoleon provided another period of increasing strain with the opening and shutting of the Mediterranean and Baltic markets due to blockade and counter-blockade, the over-development of the Spanish-American trade and the fresh complication of the war with the United States. With the Peace came the revival of European competition, and Glasgow took advantage of the opening of the Indian trade in 1816 and the China trade in 1833. It was always responsive to the West Indian and the American market and by 1830 its Canadian connections justified the enterprise of

Alexander Allan.[3] Ten years later the Glasgow merchants were prepared to finance the City Line to India, to support the annexation of New Zealand and to attempt to penetrate the African Niger.[4]

This range of mercantile enterprise was supported by improved transport facilities. From 1770 onwards the systematic deepening of the Clyde was taken in hand, and by the work of Rennie and Telford the river was practically canalised for the 12 miles between Bowling and the Broomielaw. In 1809 the Clyde Trustees were organised to maintain and improve harbour and river; by 1830 vessels drawing 15 feet of water could reach the heart of the city. The position of Glasgow in relation to the Clyde ports of Greenock, Port Glasgow and Dumbarton was obviously strengthened: these still kept an increasing import of sugar, rum, cotton and timber, and collectively they formed the most important centre of ship-building in Scotland; but the improved passage up the river drew traffic to the head of navigation and the focus of distribution.

This achievement has to be related to the use of steam. The navigation of the river and the upper Firth was not particularly easy for sail, but with the success of the "Comet" in 1812 a new motive power had been demonstrated. The short sea traffic within the Firth encouraged the commercial development of steam, limited as yet in its range by technical difficulties. Connections were established with Rothesay in 1815 and with Campbeltown in 1816. In 1818 services were opened

with Belfast, in 1819 with Liverpool and in 1824 a steamship was permitted to ascend the canalised river to the city. By 1830 there were 25 steamers plying on the Firth of Clyde and the new regular and cheap steamship communication was of instant importance in facilitating the movement of Irish labour into the area.

The long transmarine voyage still presented difficulties; but the use of steam as a supplementary power was encouraged by James Naismith's improved engine patented in 1830. Within ten years of its invention Glasgow firms had engined ships for the Mediterranean traffic and the Cape Route and in 1839 the Cunard Company, representing Glasgow and Liverpool shipping interests, had been formed to establish a regular and direct traffic with Boston and New York. (5)

These marine connections were supplemented by the expanding system of roads and canals of which Glasgow was the centre. The new road-engineering permitted quick traffic and in 1790 a regular coach service was opened directly with London. But the movement of bulky and heavy goods was more dependent on canal construction. The Forth and Clyde Canal was opened from sea to sea in 1790, so that imports from the Baltic could be landed at Grangemouth and moved by water to the city. In the same year a shorter canal was made to connect Glasgow with the coal and iron resources of the Coatbridge-Airdrie district. The later canals were of less importance. The Union Canal connected the Forth and Clyde with Edinburgh (but not with Leith)

and it carried a heavy passenger traffic between the two great cities. A canal to connect Glasgow with a new outport at Ardrossan was stopped by lack of funds and the growing convenience of the deepened river passage; but goods and passengers were moved on the section that had been completed between Glasgow and Paisley. The Crinan and Highland Canals were designed to provide an alternative route to the dangerous passage round the north of Scotland, but while their economic importance was limited, they assisted the movement of Highland produce and Highland labour to the Clyde. (6)

But in the immediate neighbourhood of Glasgow itself the growing concentration of traffic called for experiments in other types of transport. Horse railways began to link up pithead and wharf on river or canal. As early as 1812 a mineral line of this nature had been constructed between Kilmarnock and the port of Troon and carried passengers as well as goods. In the Eighteen-Twenties the rapid development of the Coatbridge-Airdrie mining area justified the construction of several lines connecting it with the Forth and Clyde Canal and by 1826, when 1¾ million tons of coal were being carried annually to Glasgow by canal, the construction of a railway as an alternative and competing method of transport seemed reasonable. Begun in 1826, the Garnkirk and Glasgow railway was opened in 1831, when the success of the Liverpool and Manchester line had shown the practicability of steam locomotion. It was followed by other lines of increasing length. The pro-

jected canal route to Ardrossan was completed by rail. In 1840 lines connecting Glasgow with Paisley and Greenock and with Ayr were constructed; in 1842 a forty-five mile line was opened between Glasgow and Edinburgh.

(b)

The industrial development of the West was a response to these expanding markets, and was constantly affected by the commercial skills and practices that met changing demands. But the problem of return cargoes led to the development of a range of exports, and as a result of the American War cotton goods acquired a special importance in Glasgow's complicated economy.

The new industry was quite exotic. The capital released by the interruption of the tobacco trade turned inwards; the raw material was imported; the product was an export specialised to convenience and taste; its manufacture required a novel and elaborate technique; it utilised a variety of commercial and financial facilities. But its naturalisation was quickly followed by a highly experimental and rapid expansion.

The long war with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France alike stimulated and distorted further development. The new cotton-spinning mills had first appeared in the remoter areas of cheap water-power; the rewards of speculative trading during the war encouraged the introduction of steam-power, and the factories appeared in the more immediate vicinity of the city. Here cheap coal was available, brought by canal from the Lanark-

shire mines; there were near by the beginnings of the necessary machine-repairing shops, though the Glasgow factories often had to resort to Lancashire for specialised work; within a reasonable distance in the Vale of Leven were such subsidiary industries as bleaching, dyeing and printing. After 1800 the urban or semi-urban factory became more typical than the great water-power establishment. In 1819 it was estimated that there were 52 cotton mills belonging to Glasgow firms (but not necessarily in the Glasgow area); twenty years later there were 192 cotton mills in Scotland employing 31,000 workers. All but 17 of these were located in Lanark and Renfrew. There was a further concentration inside these counties. Of 175 mills, 98 were in or near Glasgow, employing over 17,000 workers; the average per establishment was 175, and the proportion of men to women was as 5 to 12. A second concentration was in and near Paisley where 40 cotton factories employed nearly 5,000 workers, the average being 120 per establishment. Of the 17 mills outside this area, 5 were large mills surviving from the water-power ear -- "village factories" like Deanston or Stanley each with over 800 workers.(2)

These great and isolated water-power factories were a class apart. In some of them the limitations of a remote situation might suggest to a benevolent proprietor like Robert Owen in New Lanark the advantage of attracting, training and retaining a permanent labour force by the provision of "company amenities." But in the newer urban factory, war conditions

and increasing competition tended to strip the relation of employer and employed of any sentiment. A reserve of labour was available; the lighter machines introduced after 1800 could be worked by women; the use of child and juvenile labour persisted and its obligations were neglected; the drive of steam-power intensified factory discipline and increased strain and accident; the introduction of gas lengthened the working day.(3) But the work-people were now free to make their own domestic arrangements and the defence of their skill and status passed to their own associations which had to work out a policy to meet the risks of this new situation. The cotton-spinners of Glasgow were to supply the first conspicuous illustration after the war of a new type of concerted action of which the aims seemed perverse and the methods dangerous.(4)

By 1830 spinning had been reorganised as a factory industry using steam-power, but weaving was still largely handicraft. For two generations before the Peace a rapidly increasing number of full-time weavers had collected in Glasgow and Paisley and had spread out over the West from Kilsyth to Ayr and Girvan. From the larger towns the manufacturing firms arranged the distribution, collection and payment of work, undertaken by the weavers in their own homes or in small workshops. The number of plain weavers was very considerable but the fancy weavers of gauze, muslin, design-work and shawls were conspicuous and there was a further extension of women domestic workers engaged in tambouring, "broderie anglaise" and other refinements.

In response to demand wages had risen before and during the war years. With increasing skill and a tradition of taste, the fancy weavers developed a characteristic way of living, an independent outlook and an idea of common status and interest, which influenced the plain weavers and gave an example to other working-class groups. But it was difficult to control the entry of labour into the craft, and after the peak of the war demand in 1810 the plain weaver found his economic value collapsing. This sudden change from prosperity to adversity made this group conscious of the need for organised action, but neither an appeal for state intervention nor an extensive strike stopped the decline. From 1815 onwards the plain weaver found recovery impossible; the entry of unskilled labour into the occupation continued and there was added the increasing if still limited competition of the power-loom. But in contrast to this collapse, it has to be noted that the fancy weavers maintained a precarious prosperity, exposed as it was to change of taste and foreign, and particularly French, competition.(5)

The numbers and distribution of the weavers in this area can be specified for the year 1838. In South-West Scotland there were then 51,060 weavers, all but 2,400 engaged in cotton and mixed cotton and silk fabrics. Of the total, 37,189 were plain weavers of muslins, ginghams etc.; 11,560 were "harness" weavers of fancy shawls, zebras (striped work) and sprigged fabrics, and 3,505 were factory weavers. There were 6,564 plain weavers located in Glasgow and they numbered over 1,000 in 8

other towns between Kilsyth and Girvan. The fancy weavers were concentrated in Paisley (4,487), Kilmarnock (1,800) and Glasgow (1,206). The most important centre for factory weaving was Glasgow with 1,580 so employed.(6)

The decline of the plain weaver, therefore, presented an acute economic and social problem in Glasgow and the smaller towns of the area, while Paisley, with its fancy weavers over four times as numerous as its plain weavers, was an illustration of the survival of a high standard of taste and skill and a continuity of working-class culture down to the opening of the Forties.

(c)

The marked expansion of the heavy industries in this area was prepared for before 1830 but not realised until after that date.(1)

Coal had been long mined in such accessible parts as the Ayrshire coast, where cheap transport was available, and there was a varied demand for domestic, industrial and export purposes. By the end of the 18th century a deeper mining was possible by the more general use of the steam pump; in 1790 the construction of the Monkland Canal gave the central Lanarkshire coalfield direct connection with its principal market, and the use of gas in Glasgow from 1815 onward illustrates the expanding demand.(2)

But iron-working in Scotland was a difficult enter-

prise. It involved an elaborate assemblage of raw materials, equipment, trained labour and managerial skill in a suitable location with a water supply and transport facilities. Despite the success of the Carron Iron Works, the Clyde Iron Works were not established on the eastern side of Glasgow until 1786. The construction of the Monkland Canal and war demands encouraged new enterprises at Calder and Shotts, but from 1802 to 1826 there was little expansion, and though furnace improvements increased production by 56%, this was to be compared with an increased English and Welsh output of 200% in the same period. A census of 1825 shows the limited use of power machines in the Glasgow area at that date; in all 310 were in operation, 176 of these in textile and other manufactures, 68 in steamboats, 58 in mines, 7 in quarries and 1 (of 60 h.p.) in the Clyde Iron Works.③

The key invention of Neilson's hot-blast was delayed until 1828; by it the local blackband ironstone of the Monkland area could be smelted by local coal. In 1830, the farmer William Baird and his sons were using both local raw materials and the new process at Gartsherrie. In the course of the Thirties, the landscape round Coatbridge and Airdrie became a "black country"; the population of the two Monkland parishes increased from 12,000 in 1821 to over 19,000 in 1831 and to over 40,000 in 1841. With the development of a subsidiary area of iron production in North Ayrshire, the Scottish output increased sevenfold between 1835 and 1845.④

This increased supply was now engaged in meeting an extraordinary demand. The new pits required machinery; more ships had to be engined. The engineering crafts were expanding and local blacksmiths and millwrights of inventive genius were turning their forges into foundries. By 1840 Robert Napier had built up the Camlachie, Vulcan and Lancefield shops and in 1841 he commenced shipbuilding at Govan. The iron ship was still in its experimental stage; from 1819 it had been used on canals, from 1827 on inland waters; in 1839 Tod and MacGregor launched their first sea-going iron vessel. The first long-distance railway line, that between Edinburgh and Glasgow, was opened in 1842, and in the same year the locomotive works at Cowlairs were established. The production of malleable iron had to be practically re-established in Scotland in 1836 with the assistance of imported English labour. Its rapid expansion dates from 1840; puddling- and rolling-mills were then being erected in connection with blast furnaces on four sites to the east of Glasgow and on its southern side at Govan.(5)

These developments produced a new working population of skilled mechanics, iron-workers, miners, general labourers and "navvies". Of these groups the middle-class public was most aware of the skilled and successful mechanics who were finding a theory for their practice and becoming engineers. Their skill developed with the invention and use of accurate machine tools; their theory was derived from Mechanics' Magazines and

classes at the Mechanics' Institutes which popularised applied science and the new technology. These men may have been inclined to regard themselves and society as machines working, but they had a justification for their enthusiasm. Intelligent and self-made, they were yet educated -- by the schooling of their class and country, by their interest in their work, by their respect for ability in their chosen field. They knew their worth and were well-paid. With the rapid promotion of new enterprises, a wide range of opportunity was offered them, and the quick recognition of special skill was accompanied by an appreciable upward movement to positions of trust and authority. They had a pride in their reasoned ingenuity and a lifelong devotion to mechanical improvement. Interested in the problems of the new power and in the design and construction of engines, they were given the chance to invent and improve, and the conjunction of technical and business ability might lead an individual to conspicuous success.

These exceptional cases received too much popular attention. The internal structure of these skilled industries stiffened. They required a heavy capital investment. The standards of training rose rapidly; a technical hierarchy formed, and living conditions might not compensate for high money wages. The protection of skill and a say in the conditions of employment had to be secured by associated action from employers who remembered their own early experience and were inclined to regard trade unionism as a conspiracy of the inef-

ficient against the successful. But with the continued swift expansion of the engineering craft, the value of technical skill remained dominant, and between the various levels there was still considerable movement.

(d)

But a contrast to the skilled crafts was presented by those occupations where a large force of unskilled labour was needed or where workers in an expanding industry like mining had little defence against an influx of fresh labour. Here working conditions became uncontrollable and the conventions of the job were undermined or ignored not so much by internal change due to mechanisation as by the pressure of demand. The result was a rapid increase of a working population in the area, due partly to natural fertility and partly to immigration from the adjacent Lowlands, the Highlands and Ireland. A whole series of economic and social tensions was indicated by the rising numbers of Catholics in the South-West. In 1791 the immigration of Catholic Highlanders had been first encouraged by the promise of employment and facilities for worship, and a distinguished Highland priest had been appointed to Glasgow in 1793. By 1831 it was estimated that there were nearly 27,000 Catholics in Glasgow, and "probably as many more" in the surrounding industrial area. The majority of these were now Irish. Their arrival had been facilitated by cheap steam transport and by active recruiting among a distressed population. They appeared

as "beggars," general labourers, field-workers and plain weavers; they were imported into the mining areas to break strikes, and their presence generally lowered wages. The arrival of this peasant population presented special difficulties of housing, sanitation, relief and education, and the building of new Catholic chapels which they required was commented on as an ominous sign of the times. But however alien in their ways and "subversive" in their views, they were an economic convenience and "nativist" hostility could do little except resist economic competition and social differences by a revival of religious agitation. With the continued expansion of the heavy industries, this reserve of cheap labour continued, and the second generation of immigrants began to work their way upwards into the building trades and the more open skilled occupations. In church affairs their Irish piety was to run permanently alongside rather than to fuse with the native Catholic tradition, which was Gallican in inspiration and restrained in expression.

The Census of 1841 gives definite information about the distribution of the Irish. There were 126,321 persons of Irish birth enumerated in Scotland, the majority of whom would be Catholic. Of this number, 7,100 were in Mid-Lothian, mainly in Edinburgh; 6,747 were in Angus, mainly in Dundee, and there was an agricultural colony of 5,772 in Wigtonshire and local settlements in other agricultural areas. But nearly 100,000 (97,514) were located in the area formed by the adjacent shires of Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton, Stirling and Ayr, and over half

of this number (55,915) were in Lanark.

A further view of the extent of these migrations can be gathered from the Census of 1851. Glasgow had then a population of 329,097; of this total, 145,022 (44%) had been born in the city; 64,866 (20%) came from the adjacent countryside of Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton, Stirling and Ayr; 42,928 (13%) had been born in Ireland, and the three Highland shires of Argyle, Perth and Inverness contributed 20,375 (6%). There were over 8,000 natives of England in the city, but their number was less than that of those from the single county of Mid-Lothian.(2)

The position of those groups, at the base of the new industrial pyramid, which were especially affected by expansion of demand and the influx of fresh labour can be briefly illustrated from mining.(3) This occupation in the West had never been "servile" as in the Lothians, nor was there an extensive employment of women workers underground. It was a family occupation, distinguished by harsh and dangerous conditions of work, a strong tradition of group co-operation in the pit and a communal sentiment above ground which was strengthened by the isolation of the mining villages. In this occupation machinery made little difference to work at the coal face, but speeding up disturbed the conventions of the job and the influx of "interlopers" brought about a sharp reduction in wages after the relative rise of the war period. The industry exhibited confused and indirect modes of employment and an effective combination of masters who had little social contact with their

workers. Friction developed along a whole series of points. There was a violent rhythm of over- and under-employment which ca' canny methods could do little to equalise. There were constant disputes as to the calculation and time of wage-payment; the use of boy labour under 10 years of age and the value to be attached to formal apprenticeship; (4) the excessive and arbitrary fines; the prevalence of accidents and the absence of effective inquiry, public record or compensation. (5) There were complications due to indirect wage payments by truck or the 'tied house'. There was a growing resentment at the speculative building of the coal-masters; the "rows" of cheap houses were without adequate sanitation or privacy or comfort; the villages seemed often examples of an industrialised barbarism with the relief afforded by the public-houses only too conspicuous. (6) The miner might begin work at the age of 7 or 8; at 17 he was earning a full pay; his efficiency declined from 35 onwards; he was old in his mid-fifties. (7) But it was claimed that a new man could be trained for the work in 6 weeks; there was no effective regulation of the entry of fresh labour, no durable agreement as to hours or wages, no systematic precaution against accident, no feeling of independence or security in a 'tied' house in what was practically a private village.

After 1815, local <u>sociétés de résistance</u> began to appear, but they could do little to change the worsening conditions. The friendly societies, Masonic Lodges, building societies and labour unions in the mining villages were seemingly

imitated from the weavers' organisations and helped by their experience; but while the miners would respond to local leadership, it was difficult to keep these sporadic associations alive and to develop a continuity of policy and method. The unions had their special problems. Apart from the need of business practice and financial support, they were faced by an effective combination of masters, and a succession of strikes after 1815 showed the violence of the internal opposition between employer and employed. Strikes were usually fought on the issues of wage payments and "the exclusion of other workpeople"; they were broken by importing Irish labour and they were followed by a campaign of repression. Those strikers who secured re-employment were "obliged to declare that they would hereafter join no association", and by general agreement, certificates of good character might be required from a former master.(2)

In these circumstances, the old-fashioned Scots miner, sober, respectable, intelligent and sometimes independent as the owner of his own home, preferred not to carry on the tradition of mining as a family occupation. If his sons remained about the pit it was as officials and supervisors; if they could, they left altogether. The growing demand for education on the part of the miners during the Thirties can be explained on various grounds. An uneducated miner was a dangerous one; some formal education was part of the tradition of their church and a condition of intelligent self-respect; but it was also

a means whereby the next generation might find employment of a different kind. The process may be illustrated from a record in the Report of 1845 on the Duke of Portland's colliery near Kilmarnock, which employed 120 families.

> "Within the last 15 years, 3 of our colliers' sons have gone into the ministry, 3 have become schoolmasters, 2 are nautical engineers -- one of them chief engineer on board a Government steamer; 1 is in the Excise, 1 is clerk at these works, 1 is a shipping agent at Montreal; 2 are apprentices to apothecaries, 1 is in a grocer's shop, 1 is a clerk in a warehouse in Glasgow; 2 are managers of neighbouring collieries; 3 are check clerks in iron-works; 1 is a precentor; 2 are railway engineers, 1 commands a timber ship, 6 have emigrated to Canada and 6 to Australia..." (9)

During the early Forties, the condition of this mining population attracted attention and stirred the public conscience. The changes wrought by publicity, a more benevolent managemant and a more effective unionism lie beyond the limits of the present treatment, but the slow emergence of this working community out of a condition of chronic industrial warfare and social depression was now beginning to be apparent. (10)

(ii)

(a)

The great city which was at the centre of this varied activity was assuming in its expansion a less complex pattern

than Edinburgh.(1)

Between 1815 and 1830 the business centre of Glasgow was moving westwards along Argyle Street to Queen Street and Buchanan Street; here were the important banks, the commercial offices and the fashionable shops with "fixed prices". Glasgow Green, the Cathedral and the University were now in the East End of the city, and off the Gallowgate and the Saltmarket the congestion of closes, wynds and built-over yards defied sanitary and moral control. Transport facilities along the river and the canals drew the foundries, mills and warehouses to these locations and around them was a wide spread of rapidly built tenements to house the working classes. But to the North-West of the new civic centre, the Blythswood estate was being laid out as an area of planned development; on the slopes above the river the squares and terraces of this part of Glasgow suggested the New Town of Edinburgh, but the imposing churches built by "Greek Thomson" were to show that the Western city was not devoid of architectural originality.(2) On the south bank of the Clyde, the conglomeration of workshops and tenements was rapidly creating another area of congestion in Govan and the Gorbals.(3) Around the city, numerous small estates rose rapidly in site value; as the suburbs moved outwards they were feued off.(4) On the river plain, weaving villages and isolated industrial settlements were joined together by rapid building developments. Then, further out, a line of residential suburbs began to form on the lower slopes of the enclosing hills and with the arrival of the steam-

ship and the railway the well-to-do could build their summer villas along the shores of the Firth.

The social make-up of this urban community seemed, like its planning, simpler than that of Edinburgh.[5] The inhabitants of Glasgow were reputed to display a uniformity of manners, an indifference to precedence and an optimistic friendliness to strangers that might be due to their experience of three generations of rapid expansion. The social relationships of the city were almost American in their flexibility. Glasgow had not the reserve of a society dominated by the traditional professions. There were only broad distinctions of business man and clerk, artisan and general labourer. But even if in each category there were refinements of manner and status due to occupational differences, there was also a wide range of social contact and the acceptance of common standards. The example set by the business men was widely imitated and the working classes exhibited an "extraordinary respectability...which leaves less real difference between them and their employers than subsists in any other place".[6] Probably the basic line of separation was that between the respectable and others: on the one side, an ordered living, comfort and decorum, a church connexion and a hope for the next generation; on the other, spiritual indifference, waste and want.

The bourgeois style of life in the city has been preserved to the last etched detail in the novels of John Galt, but a reference to certain general developments after 1815 is neces-

sary. The pre-established business groups were hospitable to the "new men" of the period, -- weavers who became cotton-spinners, blacksmiths and mechanics who were building up the heavy industries, coal-masters and building contractors. This was partly because the middle class was now too large to be homogeneous, but also because there already existed an attractive tradition of breeding and culture which received and educated the newcomers. Many of the "better sort" in the town claimed kinship with the territorial families of the locality. There was an accepted prestige attached to foreign trade and something of the pride, the taste and the formality of the 18th century Tobacco and Sugar Lords survived into the early 19th century here as in Bristol or Boston. Nor was the Glasgow middle class indifferent to the university which had welcomed Adam Smith as a teacher and had given James Watt the assistance of its laboratories. In the high day of the 18th century, the magnates of the city were not without an intellectual pride and a republican devotion to the growing city; its service was an obligation and its gratitude their reward.

The career and achievements of Kirkman Finlay illustrate the vitality of this civic culture and its power of absorption. Finlay was of the second generation of millowners; while still in his thirties, he acquired the three great establishments of Ballindalloch, Catrine and Deanston and supervised their working. But he was "a born merchant, with the eye to see the profit and the nerve to take the risk". He smuggled on the grand

scale during the blockades, sent out the first ship from Glasgow to Bombay in 1816, and in 1834 the first ship to Canton bore his name. He was an active public figure: a commandant of volunteers, a governor of the Forth and Clyde Navigation, a President of the Chamber of Commerce. He became Lord Provost. He carried the parliamentary election of 1812 against the landed interest, and the mob smashed the windows of his house in 1815. He was the first citizen to be made Lord Rector of the University. After his death, his fellow-citizens commemorated him by a portrait in the Merchants' Hall and a statue outside it which depicted him heroic in a toga.(7)

Such a career and such honours were exceptional but the middle class in Glasgow continued to grow in grace and self-respect. The heavy drinking and swearing of the 18th century disappeared from polite society, though its tradition survived in the numerous convivial clubs which combined good company with an appreciation of Burns. But a more sober culture was fostered by the Glasgow Literary and Commercial Society which was founded in 1806; it listened to Dr. Chalmers on the Cause and Cure of Pauperism and to Mr. Owen's views on a similar subject. There were numerous antiquarian and scientific groups, musical societies, a growing local activity in art and a zest for books that led to the creation of several magnificent private libraries.(8)

In 1815 Dr. Chalmers arrived in Glasgow, and on this generation and on this class he made a profound impression.

In a glow of rhetoric his Astronomical Discourses reconciled the geological theories of the period with scriptural authority and Christian tradition. In his Commercial Discourses[9] he attempted to apply a late Calvinist casuistry to the moral problems of the good man in business. A lofty idealism was asserted against the practice of "commodious falsehoods", evasions of taxation, speculative profits and the violation of the Sabbath. His theories of poor relief and social rehabilitation chimed in with the personal experience of his hearers and appealed to the devotion of a younger generation disturbed by post-war discontent and secularism. The pious youth of the city was called to a life of philanthropic service in Sunday schools, Bible Societies, systematic visiting, charitable education and rescue work. Chalmers' own experiments in the neglected area of St. John's were followed by the first City Mission which was founded in 1826 and the evangelical agencies began to deploy systematically in their great crusade. As his young men grew older they entered into their responsibilities and continued to testify to the profound influence of his appeal. But all was not sacred fervour; by 1830 "Summer Amusements" were become the rage, a cricket club was founded (with an appropriate costume), rowing was practised and a gymnastic club was proposed.[10]

(b)

The business ability and the civic interests of the

middle classes were alike engaged in the government of the city and in the provision of its necessary communal services. There was scope for their efficiency, for in Glasgow as in Edinburgh the municipal constitution was a traditional, fixed and complicated structure linked to the Merchant and Trade Guilds, all alike descended from the middle ages. The town council perpetuated itself by an elaborate system of self-election; there was the intricate push and counter-push of interest and clique in a system of secret diplomacy. The expansion of the city was neither controlled nor guided. The Dean of Guild's Court which passed on building projects was now effete, and down to 1806 the municipality was limited to the area defined in the charter of 1613. The result of this arrested development was to encourage the creation of small local administrations around the Royal Burgh; on the east, Calton was formed into a burgh of barony in 1817, on the west, Anderston in 1824; over the river was the barony of the Gorbals. These areas had their own magistrates, their own Police Acts and their own limited burden of assessment; the creation of another to include the recently feued Blythswood lands was averted only with difficulty in 1830.(1)

Inside the actual municipal area, the necessary services had to be created by specific Acts of Parliament, and there was strong opposition to the levying of assessments for these purposes. It was not until 1800 that an Act was passed to supersede the watch and ward obligatory by convention on all

citizens who paid rents of over £3; provision was then made for a permanent police force supported by levy, and powers were given to pave, light and clean the streets; but these activities were to be supervised by an ad hoc body of commissioners, one from each of 24 wards, and in 1807 the power of this body was expanded to control a rate-supported Fire Department. This process of creating separate and limited administrative bodies commended itself. An Act of 1806 created the Clyde Trustees. In 1807, the payment for road service was permitted to be applied to the upkeep of streets, lanes and common sewers in the city, and in 1820 this levy and its expenditure were vested in another body of Trustees representing the Town Council, the Merchants' House and the Trades. But some necessities and some conveniences were supplied by private enterprise. In 1806-8 two water companies were incorporated to supersede the system of public and private wells and in 1817 a Gas Company was formed to build "the most perfect and beautiful establishment in the kingdom".(2)

All these activities show how decayed had become the tradition of civic administration. The fixity of institutions, the distrust of vested interests, the absence of any convenient procedure of change or expansion, encouraged belief in a piecemeal reformation to be secured by the transfer of business methods to situations specifically limited by private act. Municipal needs were being satisfied by something like a congeries of individual firms whose efficiency could be tested by

the reaction of their customers to the product. But if the general view was lost, the specific advances could slowly accumulate to be integrated in the future. Yet in Glasgow as in Edinburgh, another set of problems presented themselves in the extensive manifestation of disease, poverty, ignorance and crime characteristic of the great city. These seemed to defy any kind of treatment, by charity or voluntary enthusiasm or business method or by what limited public powers were available.

In coping with these social consequences of urbanism, civic opinion was indeed baffled by the intellectual difficulties of analysis as well as by the absence of agencies of administration. Even in the case of public health, expert knowledge was uncertain and the social implications of its suggestions were so novel that action tended to be apologetic and discontinuous. The control of smallpox had given convincing proof of the efficacy of organised medical effort; the practice of free vaccination began in Glasgow in 1801 and the influence of the public dispensaries supplemented war prosperity in giving the impression of rising standards of general health. Then at the end of the war, economic depression, immigration, overcrowding, poor diet and dirt produced a succession of epidemic fevers which the medical science of the day had difficulty in distinguishing for treatment. It was not till 1832 that the arrival of cholera forced a comprehensive policy of attempted prevention and control. This crisis was met by a public assessment for remedial measures, a Board of Health with

coercive powers and a wide-spread educational propaganda, but the whole effort was abandoned when the epidemic receded.

Similarly the legal obligation on the part of the public authorities to provide poor relief for specified classes of sick and aged was interpreted in terms of an earlier economy, when the norm was a rural parish, its agents the kirk session, its funds mainly derived from church collections. The parish of Glasgow had a population in 1815 of 75,000 and it had had to supplement voluntary contributions by an assessment. These two sources of income supported the city infirmary and poor house and gave a meagre assistance to some hundreds of out-pensioners; any surplus was returned for distribution to the contributing churches. In the working-class parish of the Barony, a compulsory assessment had been introduced only as late as 1810 when the inhabitants numbered 35,000 and Chalmers deplored the rapid rise in expenditure for the poor of this area to some £3,000 in a year of great distress. South of the river, the population of the Gorbals increased from 5,000 to 22,000 between 1811 and 1821 as the new industries located by the Clyde, but no assessment was considered necessary. As Chalmers phrased it in terms of approval, "it retained the simple parochial economy that was bequeathed to us from our ancestors" and the implication was that the impotent poor were a first charge on their families and then on the voluntary contributions of the benevolent; the rôle of the state was to supplement not to support. Neither was there any legal obligation

to assist the able-bodied poor at all and the new type of distress due to the economic crises of 1816-17, 1818, 1826 and 1829 was handled by an appeal for voluntary aid and an apologetic creation of some unskilled relief work. ④

Even the educational facilities of the city were left to church, charity and private enterprise. The magistrates satisfied their legal obligation by the upkeep of the burgh grammar school which gave a classical education, and they might and did patronise and assist some special enterprises. But the educational activity which was to distinguish the city was largely due to voluntary effort; where that ceased, "adventure schools" supplied what instruction was demanded, and in some areas there was no demand. There was no systematic municipal effort made to allocate schools or to create a general educational policy. In 1835 a well-known church leader bitterly complained that "the first city in Scotland in wealth and population...had not planted a single juvenile or infant school for the education of the poor, though it spent annually £14,000 on its police and had expended £60,000 on its jail." ⑤

With this meagre equipment of administrative agency, a belief in the debilitating effects of official assistance, an immense energy and a rising wave of evangelical enthusiasm, Glasgow became aware of the social problems of its growth.

3.

THE NORTH EAST.

(i)

A third industrial province lay along the East Coast of Scotland between the Forth and the Moray Firth. Its rising prosperity in the 18th century had been associated with linen, small farming and fishing. In the early 19th century these industries expanded and separated, but as almost all of the area lay beyond the coal basins of the Central Lowlands, its development showed the complex adjustment of tradition and innovation. The mechanisation of its major textile was limited; the specialised production of grain and cattle was dependent on cheap and quick transport and so retarded until the third and fourth decades of the new century. Fishing likewise expanded with improved transport, but there was not yet any marked concentration of production and the occupation persisted as a small-scale business in the hands of individuals, family groups or associated working shareholders.

The growth of population was appreciable but not generally excessive. Aberdeenshire enjoyed a measured increase during the first half of the century and it was only after 1820 that Angus showed percentage increases comparable to those of Lanarkshire and this was largely due to the almost intensive industrialisation of Dundee. In this area of small towns and

scattered industries, the habits and views of the 18th century economy could persist well into the next age to make what industrial change and concentration there was all the more difficult to analyse and control.

The development of textile manufactures was the dominating fact of the period.(2) The area contained several of the great isolated cotton-spinning water-mills characteristic of the last decades of the 18th century. At Deanston between Stirling and Callander, at Stanley near Perth and on Donside near Aberdeen, an industrial community of several hundred workers was set down in rural surroundings where some attention to the provision of amenities was now justifiable as good business as well as philanthropy.(3) In relation to these and other such establishments outside the area, some four or five thousand cotton-weavers found employment as handworkers in the small towns and villages of Menteith, Strathearn, Fife and Aberdeenshire.(4) In contrast to the cotton factories, the woollen mills of the area were numerous and very small. Originally dependent on supplies of local water and local wool, some were beginning to develop a wider market for speciality products. Along the base of the Ochils, small towns were expanding with the manufacture of woollen blankets of more than local repute. The weaving of tartans at Stirling and Aberdeen increased as the vogue of the Waverley Novels set the fashion in Europe and America alike, and in the same two towns there was some manufacture of carpets. In these instances the rate of expansion

was rapid, but the woollen mills of this region were still generally small local and personal businesses. They employed as yet only a handful of workers, their pace of work was often irregular, and as in addition relationships were still personal, conditions of work and wages were difficult to standardise. (5)

But the most conspicuous development was that of the spinning of lint and the weaving of linen. (6) This industry carried with it a tradition of national importance and state encouragement, but its expansion was now independent of official aid and the state regulations lapsed and were repealed. In the course, range and complexity of its progress the industry invited comparison with the newer cotton manufacture which had displaced it in the West of Scotland. It was now definitely localised in the North-East. The raw material was imported from the Baltic and elsewhere and worked up into a variety of finished products to be sold at home, or overseas in the colonies, the United States, Southern Europe and Latin America. The demand for sailcloth and canvas, bagging and sheeting, damask cloth and napery, was an increasing one, but a variety of risks affected some lines in particular and sometimes the trade as a whole, so that an irregular rhythm of production was imposed on the general expansion. Stimulated by war demands, the industry was strained by the shifts of economic and political policy in the Baltic, the Mediterranean and the United States during the last years of the Napoleonic struggle. It then suffered from the dislocation of the peace, and experienced a

severe depression which culminated in 1819; reviving after 1820 it was again hard hit by the crisis of 1825 which curtailed American demand. It entered on a twenty-year stretch of comparative prosperity which reached through the crisis of 1837 to the depression of ten years later. Originally located in an area of low costs and cheap but intelligent labour, it now became aware of the competition of Ulster advantaged by labour which was even cheaper and of a less demanding temper. In these circumstances jute spinning and the manufacture of jute products began to attract serious attention and their successful localisation in Dundee and Kirkcaldy in the later Forties was to open a new phase of rapid development for these towns.

This expansion of the Scottish linen industry in the first half of the 19th century was assisted by financial, commercial and transport services which were centred in the ports and especially in Aberdeen and Dundee. But technical improvements were relatively late in establishing themselves. The first manufacturing processes to be mechanised were the preparation of the flax and the spinning of the coarser yarns. The attempts of the flax-dressers to control the entry of fresh labour into their craft and to enforce standard wages led to the use of heckling machines, but their success in dealing with the variety of strong and weak fibres was inferior to that of the human hand and their adoption was gradual.(7) Machinery for spinning was set up in Dundee as early as 1790 and its use was

facilitated by the introduction of gas in 1810. But it was at first adapted only to the coarser fibres and while the import of coal by sea from the Forth was convenient, the cost of land transport was such as to limit the use of steam-power to the ports of entry. Mechanical spinning was otherwise done by water-power and the small mills arranged themselves where this was available -- along the base of the Grampians and the Sidlaw Hills and in the deep "dens" of Fife and the coast of Angus and the Mearns.(8)

Spinning had hitherto been a supplementary occupation for women and associated with weaving, small farming and fishing. The withdrawal of this domestic craft coincided with an increase of population, the spread of monetary standards of comfort and the dislocation of other occupations, and the new women and juvenile workers took with them into the mills traditions of rural service, long hours and low wages for what was often regarded as a temporary occupation. But the pace set by the machines and the discipline and tone of factory work were novel. In the small and isolated establishments of from 20 to 50 workers a good owner-manager might still exercise a patriarchal supervision over his employees and the local village might supply some kind of social existence outside the mill. But where the owner was indifferent and a hard master and the foremen were rough and callous, the rural factory might have a very bad reputation. The working day was often one of 12 to 14 hours; the work was carried on behind locked doors; pro-

duction might be irregular as the flow of water varied; machinery was unfenced, sanitary conveniences few and offensive. The women workers were disciplined by fines and the children by the strap as in school. The tone of intercourse was often shocking to the self-respecting and injurious to children of 7 and upwards. The labour turnover was high; the job became less temporary and more permanent, and while most women workers strove to keep contact with their families and their friends, an unsatisfactory group showed the demoralising effects of industrial migration, which detached them from domestic interests and training alike. For these "independent women" and for juvenile workers bound to their master for a term of years, housing had to be found in the neighbourhood or provided near an isolated mill. The problem of the accommodation and supervision of these mixed workers presented special difficulties. Sometimes a responsible owner took care for such matters either because he accepted an obligation for a small working group who were still persons rather than hands, or because he had been impressed by the model factories of New Lanark or Lowell, or because he found a contented and permanent labour force a business asset. But small establishments and intense competition did not permit much coddling. The solution might be simply the erection of rural bothies for women and for young workers of both sexes; in one case at least the employer fed his juveniles in the mill itself.(9)

These early factory conditions persisted in this

area through the thirties and only gradually were higher standards of protection and accommodation made effective. Official inspection and organised action were alike difficult and rising costs a prime factor. But with the revival of trade in the twenties and the adoption of machines for finer spinning the use of steam power rapidly extended, the factories became larger and their concentration more apparent, particularly in and around Dundee. By the returns of 1839, out of 183 flax-spinning mills in Scotland, all but 21 were in the North-East; out of 18,000 hands employed in them, 15,000 were active in the three counties of Angus, Fife and Aberdeen. But the size of the establishments was very varied. In Dundee and its immediate environs, 6,000 flax-spinners were employed in 50 factories, but the average of 120 per unit covered a wide range between some large and many small mills. By contrast, in Aberdeen, some 3,000 operatives were in 4 great mills in or immediately outside the city. Here local immigration was more important than in Dundee; the rural background was more intact than in Angus but the decline of such domestic crafts as stocking knitting and thread spinning afforded the necessary female labour. The factories were planted near water-power like the great isolated cotton-mills and were comparable to them in size and organisation. Yet in Fife a similar total of 3,000 workers was distributed in 46 mills in 15 distinct localities. Outside the two larger towns of the area, only in Montrose and Arbroath were there over a thousand flax-

spinners employed in one locality. (10)

Yet in this later expansion after 1825, the traditions of low wages, long hours and adverse conditions persisted in the industry. With the investment of more capital and some realisation of the social consequences of raw expansion, a more responsible type of management developed, but the irregularity of the market and the stress of competition could be cited to excuse indifference and in any case the situation presented the usual economic paradoxes. The mill gave work to those who wanted it and to those who had no alternative occupation; the rapid development of the new engines of production was associated with rising standards of prosperity for the whole area and this was dependent on the intelligence, energy and efficiency of its promoters. The employment of women and juvenile workers was seemingly necessary and general except in very heavy spinning. In all, the women outnumbered the men by more than 2 to 1 in Dundee and by 3 to 1 in Aberdeen. Rather more than half the total employed in the industry were between 10 and 18 years of age. The wage scales were low and variable; public opinion in Dundee was inclined to hold the influx of Irish as at least partially responsible, but they were equally the reflex of more general conditions of development. In the early thirties, mechanics in the Dundee mills might earn 14/- to 18/- weekly, flax-dressers 10/- to 12/-, women spinners 5/- to 8/-, boys and girls 3/- to 6/-; some of these had entered the mill when 7 years of age for 1/6

a week. Hours were still long, 13 a day being usual, but in the larger mills machinery was beginning to be fenced, some accommodation made for women workers and some schooling provided for the juveniles, which they were too listless to appreciate. But in general, the industry in and near the urban centres was now entering on a more modern phase. The use of steam power became extensive and hours and conditions could be more effectively regulated in the larger establishments. The investigations of the factory commissions gave a factual basis for public judgement and some state intervention. The new occupations created their own standards of good work and reasonable treatment, and with the rapid increase in the numbers employed and their local concentration, the working-class organisations gained in self-consciousness, continuity and tactical experience. But it was also apparent that in flax- as in cotton-spinning, the new economic activity was producing conditions, habits and values which affected and sometimes nullified the accepted traditions. A wide swathe of dubious physical, domestic and moral consequences as well as a new range of economic tensions and pressures seemed inevitably associated with technical progress and general prosperity.(11)

An even more baffling moral problem was presented here as in the West by the position of the weavers. In contrast to the change in flax-spinning, weaving was still a handicraft during the first four decades of the century.

Even where technical conditions encouraged a more elaborate discipline of production (as in the making of heavy sail-cloth) the large workshops did not generally use power, and it was not until 1836 that Baxter's of Dundee gave the first successful demonstration there of plain-weaving by steam.(12) The hand-loom weavers were therefore still a characteristic group in the North-East. In the Thirties there were some 26,000 hand-looms in the area.(13) Plain-weaving occupied 17,000 in summer and over 20,000 in winter. Custom-weaving was still practised in the remoter areas where independent craftsmen satisfied a local demand, but most of the plain-weavers were employed by town firms. Their work was done in small shops adjoining the cottages and holding 2 to 6 and usually 4 looms. At the opening of the century the family was still an active economic unit, its major product in demand and its position strengthened by supplementary occupations. The weaver and his sons plied their craft; the mother and the girls wound pirns or spun yarn; a small holding or a potato patch was often rented from a local farmer in return for harvest labour. Sometimes weaving was a seasonal occupation to be pursued when farm-work or fishing or building was slack.(14) The weaving population was thus dispersed, but in each locality the craftsmen lived together. In the country districts the weavers' cottages and plots would be scattered along the margin of patches of moorland; near the towns and villages their long "rows" were conspicuous with

the weaving-shops on the ground floor and the living quarters above reached by an outside stair. The craftsmen were associated in work and play. They inherited intellectual interests, and like the cotton-weavers in the West, they developed a deep and argumentative concern in the affairs of church, state and school. A minority gave convinced support to the political and religious sects and heresies of the age. With increasing independence and prosperity came comfort, some personal display and a late 18th century taste for flowers, birds and landscape, for sociability and sentiment, progress and the rights of man. With their fraternal associations, friendly societies and savings banks, there developed also defensive organisations that helped to define the idea of "fair play" as between those who offered and those who took work. Such local committees helped to regulate prices and practice in the craft. (15)

With the end of the period of war prosperity, the plain-weaver's economic position was threatened; the spread of his income contracted and his standard and style of living could not be kept up. Machine spinning withdrew one domestic occupation; in some areas, the improved farming abolished the small scattered holdings or confined them to patches of poor soil. The demand and the pay of the war years had induced many weavers to make this work their whole-time occupation, but simultaneously the expanding craft attracted cheap labour and here, as in the similar development in the

West, standards of training and entry were difficult to establish either by legal regulation or local combination. The employing firms asserted control; the price of work fell; the hours of the working day were incredibly extended for the whole family in the effort to keep up the level of income; the collapse of mutual agreement within the business was expressed by the bitter complaints of sharp practice from both employer and employed. The introduction of the power-loom completed this process. But the weaver tended to stick to his craft. The higher rates for speciality work, an occasional lift of prices, the attraction of an independent craft, the use of cheap family labour which prevented escape into other occupations, the delusive expectation of state assistance: these and other factors perpetuated adversity. In 1825 a respectable Aberdeen weaver paid out a weekly income of 13/- in food and clothes, rent and fire, shoes for six persons, education for three and a charge for a church sitting which came to 10/- a year; in 1836 the same work brought in only 8/- and it was reported that the price of the staple food, oatmeal, had increased.(16) The groups of plain-weavers in Dundee, Arbroath and Montrose, Brechin and Forfar, and the hill-foot towns like Kirriemuir faced the necessity of some similar readjustment of expenses to income and of expectations to realities.

Yet in the North-East as in the West, the position of the speciality weavers stood (as yet) in sharp contrast to

that of the plain-weavers. The most famous centre of such work was Dunfermline which rivals Paisley in its social interest. In addition to its historical importance indicated by its Palace and its Abbey, the town was the market centre for West Fife. In its neighbourhood the local coal-mines had been assisted by the construction of a mineral railway by the Earl of Elgin in 1812; a Corn Exchange was opened in 1813. But by this time there were a thousand weavers in the town and parish out of a population of about 12,000, and the value of their product was about £100,000. In less than ten years their number had almost doubled. A period of depression and unrest marked the early twenties but in 1825 the Jacquard loom was introduced and after some years of hesitation, speciality weaving expanded until the crisis of 1837. On the eve of this event when the population was approaching 20,000 there were 3,500 looms in the town and parish engaged in weaving damask, diaper work and table linen; over a thousand women and girls were employed as winders and pirn-fillers, and the annual output was now estimated at £400,000.(17)

The development of the town and its industry was comparable to that of Paisley. As fine manufactured linen came into general use, production increased in range and refinement; the napery designs improved beyond the traditional birds and flowers, coats-of-arms, Union Jacks and Scots Thistles. In 1826 a Drawing Academy was set up by the local manufacturers and the Board of Trustees "for the purpose of

teaching young men to make designs for the damask manufacture", but it survived only into the early Thirties, and as in Paisley, the weavers developed their own standards of taste as well as skill. They usually worked in small workshops on their own or rented looms. On their first introduction the Jacquard machines were relatively expensive but the price of cheaper makes rapidly fell. In the mid-Thirties when they cost £15 to £20, almost a third of the Dunfermline craftsmen owned their own looms.(18) Of the remainder some worked as journeymen or apprentices for other weavers in small shops containing 4 or 5 looms; most of them were employed on rented looms by manufacturers. But a master-craftsman employing hired labour had to be something of a small business-man, and the manufacturers were in origin, standards and outlook little removed from those to whom they gave work. With the increasing capital invested in the trade, distinctions were becoming more apparent. Some manufacturers attempted to run small hand-loom factories either to protect expensive looms or yarns or to secure more economical management. But at least to the crisis of 1837 the preference for independent work was strong, and only after that date did the increasing cheapness of hand-looms and the extension of steam-weaving combine to threaten their position.(19)

But the weavers had already given Dunfermline its reputation and its institutions of working-class culture. As early as 1808 William Carnegie and his friends had founded a Tradesman's Library; a Savings Bank appeared in 1815; a year

later the town schools were re-organised and a Lancastrian one opened. During the Twenties came the Mechanics' Institute and Library and a Scientific Club as well as the Drawing Academy. Round the year 1830 the philanthropic enthusiasm of the town expressed itself in missionary meetings, temperance leagues and an infant school, and its taste in a Florists' Society and a local literary magazine -- The Gasometer -- which lasted for 12 numbers. The main interest of many weavers was in politics, but in the case of the Carnegies and their friends, republican principles were still the direct expression of religious devotion. They had separated from the Presbyterian bodies on such crucial questions as infant damnation, and drawing inspiration from mystics and prophets such as Swedenborg and Channing, they wished to re-order society in terms of the equality and fraternity which worked in the intimacy of their own circle. It was this independent, lofty and pietistic radicalism which found its world awry after 1837. For the first time, in 1839, a poor relief assessment was considered necessary for the town, and after the failure of the weavers' strike in 1842, the only other alternative seemed to be emigration --

> "To the West, to the West, to the land of the free
> Where the mighty Missouri rolls down to the sea;
> Where a man is a man even though he must toil,
> And the poorest may gather the fruits of the soil."

(20)

(ii)

The textile developments of the North East must not be allowed to obscure the importance and interest of the numerous small urban centres characteristic of the region. Their existence can be related to the topographical variety of the country with its alternations of hill and lowland. They acted as points of collection and distribution for definite localities or conducted the exchange between sea and land or agricultural and pastoral zones. But they also attracted a number of supply industries and services and some manufacturing for a wider market. Their economic pattern was thus varied and balanced. They retained an active burghal tradition. They were still the resort of local gentry for business and pleasure, and their influence was powerful even when it was criticised. In the unreformed burghs, a middle-class society of merchants, professional men, and retired lairds and farmers showed some of the gemütlichkeit as well as the decorum which comes with accepted status and diffused prosperity. The weavers, sailors and fishermen of the town kept their own quarters, their own standards and (it was hoped) their own place in burghal life. The new mill hands were more intractable and the slum population, which was increasing by deposition from the countryside, could now be neither ignored nor abolished. But the local bourgeoisie was actively benevolent and the burgh had inherited both a tradition and recognised agencies of education and philanthropy.

With this general development there was also a local individuality. A town like Perth retained the importance due to its site and the pride of its historical career. It was a market and retail centre for the adjacent straths and carses and the sheep country of the Central Highlands. It was the county town and a favoured residential and educational resort; it had a local spa at Bridge of Earn. But the quality of its water was also beginning to attract specialised bleaching and dyeing and it was still a considerable port, its direct connections with London improved by the small steamships which could navigate the Tay and its Firth. The urban variety of the area could be further illustrated by the university town of St. Andrews, the old episcopal sites of Brechin and Elgin, the small county towns of Cupar-Fife, Forfar and Stonehaven, each with some industry and commerce, some official importance and some residential attraction.(1)

During the opening decades of the century, the fishing towns and small ports of the coasts of Moray and Buchan, Angus and Fife were increasingly stimulated by improved communications which brought them in touch with expanding markets. The detailed history of towns like Fraserburgh, Peterhead, Montrose and Arbroath would show the improvement of local harbours, the location of fishing and whaling bases, the development of fish-curing, of some shipbuilding, of repair and supply crafts, and of the specialised provisioning for seasonal or long-distance voyages.(2) A local marine was engaged in

transporting fish in bulk to Russia and Germany to pay for a return import of flax, hemp and timber, while the introduction of steam navigation in 1827 encouraged an increasing attention to the demands of the English market. Public interest was drawn first to the whaling industry. This developed mainly after 1800 and by 1820 there were over 50 vessels so engaged from Scottish ports. Of this number 40 came from Peterhead, Aberdeen, Montrose and Dundee; they were of 300-400 tons burden, employed about 50 men on board and required specialised construction and equipment.(3) The trade was both speculative and dangerous. In some years, almost a tenth of the ships might be lost or a whaler might come home "clean"; but by contrast, in 1814 the "Resolution" came into Peterhead with a record cargo of 44 whales worth £11,000 in oil, bone and bounty. During the Thirties, the industry was exposed to adverse circumstance; the bounty was withdrawn, the duty on oil-seed was reduced and with the increased use of gas the demand for oil fell off. Whaling persisted at Peterhead and Dundee but both capital and labour were now attracted to the herring and white fishing.(4) The original base of these activities had been the Northern Islands and Caithness where Wick harbour had been constructed in 1810. With increased demand and improved communications harbours were enlarged and the traffic in herring organised at Fraserburgh and Peterhead during the Twenties and at Aberdeen during the Thirties. But the centralisation was only

comparative. It was not until after 1850 that the completion of the trunk lines of railway gave a further advantage to these and other strategic points and not until after 1870 that the use of larger boats for off-shore fishing emphasised the role of capital as well as that of market organisation. During the first half of the century much fishing was still done in-shore, by small undecked boats and from local harbours. The craft were owned by individual fishermen and their families or were the joint property of a group of neighbours. The occupation was risky, and its returns were irregular. After 1830 it had to meet the withdrawal of state encouragement. But the fishing communities distributed round the East Coast were numerous and in some areas they were definitely concentrated into a series of large villages and small towns. In East Fife from Crail to St. Monan's or on the Morayshire coast between Banff and Lossiemouth, a considerable population followed the sea, preserved a traditional outlook on life and death, and lived in relative isolation from landward interests and activities.(5)

With its geographical extension and its urban variety, the North East supported no one urban centre comparable to Edinburgh or Glasgow, but the marked development of Aberdeen and Dundee deserves examination. At the opening of the century both were of equal and limited size, with populations of 27,000 each. In 1831, Aberdeen had increased to 57,000 and Dundee to 45,000. By 1851, the positions were reversed;

Dundee had then a population of nearly 80,000 while Aberdeen had reached 72,000. These figures are to be explained by a nice contrast of economic attraction and social development.

Aberdeen was an example of a true regional capital, supported by and serving an extensive and varied hinterland. During the first half of the 19th century its inhabitants had steadily increased from 27,000 to 72,000 yet the population remained racially more homogeneous than that of any other large Scottish town. In 1851, out of its 72,000, fewer than 20,000 had been born outside the city and the county, and of this number only 1,270 were natives of Ireland and these were slightly outnumbered by the resident English. The economic activities of the city were varied and its social pattern correspondingly complex. There was, firstly, a relatively conspicuous middle-class element. As a county town and an educational centre, it maintained a tradition of intellectual activity and independence and a considerable professional population of divines, lawyers, doctors and teachers. As the distributing centre of the North its merchants and retailers were encouraged by an active local banking system responsive to local needs. But it had also attracted industry by its focal position and its supply of labour as well as capital. During the Thirties the spinning, bleaching and manufacture of flax into a range of products from floorcloth to linen thread occupied over 7,000 men and women, nearly two-thirds of whom were mill-workers in or near the town; there were some 2,000

engaged in cotton and a similar number in various woollen manufactures. Aberdeen was not, however, a mill town. Like Edinburgh it had developed considerable paper-making and a variety of minor speciality products, and the Census of 1851 was to reveal that as many women were employed in domestic service as in all the textile manufactures together. But Aberdeen was also a port. There was an increasing population engaged in and about the docks. Steam connections with Leith were established in 1821 and with London in 1827, and the extending road system brought the stock, beef and mutton, the barley and the oats of the hinterland here for transhipment. There also developed a heavy traffic in the export of local granite for street paving, bridge-building and monumental work in the South. In the Twenties, whaling employed about 15 vessels and 650 men and after 1822 the export of preserved fish and meat for long-distance sea voyages overcame its initial difficulties. All this traffic justified harbour improvement and extension, undertaken by Telford between 1810 and 1816, and the not very successful construction of a local canal of 18 miles length to Inverurie to assist the movement of heavy traffic. There were also repairing and supply industries for shipping generally: iron works, which also manufactured agricultural implements, rope and cordage walks, and a considerable local shipbuilding. Aberdeen became the most important single centre of wooden construction in Scotland and its local skill was eventually to rise to a tradition of design

which made its clippers worthy rivals of the American vessels.[9] There was, lastly, fishing. The fishing villages were located on either side of the mouth of the Dee and showed a marked social pattern. The community was physically distinctive for there was little marriage outside the occupational group. The women were economically independent and the active heads of the household in the absence of their men. The craft demanded high standards of reliability, endurance and courage as well as technical skill and carried with it many traditional practices and superstitions which attracted the attention of lovers of the picturesque. But the philanthropic were now becoming more concerned with the housing and health of the fishing population, their alleged intemperance and their indifference to the formal education of their children.[10]

The physical extension of the town was neither planned nor completely haphazard. The unreformed town council had a pride as well as an interest in its development, and in the opening years of the century they relieved the concentration round the harbour by constructing a series of radial streets which crossed the local obstacles of marsh and ravine. In particular Telford's bridge over the Den Burn permitted the development of the magnificent line of Union Street and a "West End" with its appropriate drives and terraces.[11] But harbour and street improvements sometimes came to over four times the estimated expense and the town went bankrupt in 1817. As in other Scottish burghs in the same situation, the civic services

tended to develop piecemeal and independently of each other. The result was a municipal order composed of a complex burghal constitution, a series of supplementary ad hoc and quasi-public organisations and a zone of voluntary activity.(12) Of the 17 special acts of parliament affecting Aberdeen between 1795 and 1832, three were Police Acts (passed in 1795, 1818 and 1829) for paving, lighting, cleansing and watching the streets. At each date the rights granted were limited; there was no reserve power capable of general development and the rising assessment was unpopular. The last of the series did give the control of a supplementary water-supply to the Police Commissioners and the power to collect and sell the town refuse, thus effectively linking cleanliness and economy. But the town was reputed healthy. There was a good natural drainage and a speedy run-off assisted by the use of impermeable granite paving. The Act of 1829 therefore contained no provision for the making of common sewers in the old town or for compelling their construction in new streets. The authorities had no power to erect public conveniences in a congested area, but even in the best quarters of the town the backgarden cesspool was usual. The local burns were convenient depositories of industrial and household garbage. Sometimes in summer they were almost dry; they were offensive all the year round. When they reached the harbour they discharged "a thick and foetid slime" which gave forth at low water poisonous gas and an intolerable stench. In this condition the city could not

escape the epidemics of the period and the peculiar ferocity of the cholera of 1832 in some practically undrained fishing quarters was long remembered if not explained. (13)

The provision of poor relief was another illustration of official inertia. Limited by legal definition, the traditional system had been reorganised in the middle of the 18th century when the population of Aberdeen was under 20,000. After more than half a century of expansion, the receipts from church collections and specific endowments failed to meet the needs of a town which, even if it were not so exposed to industrial unemployment as some others, attracted casual labour and broken men and women from its hinterland. The imposition of an assessment for relief was long resisted in terms of general principle as well as particular interest. In 1818, at the time of the first series of fever epidemics, an "organised" voluntary contribution was tried and failed, but it was not until 1838, when the population was approaching 60,000, that a legal and general assessment for relief was imposed, and this, it was claimed, put an end to the Scottish tradition by giving the pauper however undeserving a legal right to a maintenance of possibly 1/- a week. (14)

But this severe attitude has to be judged fairly by relating it to the intense philanthropic activity of the middle classes of the city and to the provision of education as the alternative to relief. Supported by voluntary contributions or by endowments, this humanitarian enthusiasm seemed

to provide for every emergency and to avoid the debasing consequences of a legal right to charity. The great public and semi-public establishments of the era were founded or expanded; a £12,000 Bridewell in 1809, a new prison in 1831 with elaborate schemes for the reclamation and education of its inmates. The five city dispensaries united in 1823; the town infirmary was expanded in 1820 and rebuilt in 1833. The Lunatic Asylum was enlarged in 1819, and in the same year a new Deaf and Dumb Institution was opened under the supervision of a pupil of the Abbé Sicard. To the 18th century Boys' "Hospital" was added a foundation for Girls in 1828, a House of Refuge in 1836 and a House of Industry and Magdalene Asylum in 1838.

There was a rapid development of benevolent and protective associations. The incorporated Trades, the Shipmasters, the Advocates, had their special relief funds. The seceding and the non-presbyterian churches cared for their own poor. The working classes had their own friendly, sick and funeral societies and were encouraged to form savings banks. There were specific endowments (one of which was to lapse if ever the town resorted to a legal assessment for relief) and numerous associations for the concern of particular cases: the aged, pauper lunatics, female orphans, the blind, the sick, the prisoner. There was an organised provision of bibles, tracts and Sunday schools, of coal and clothes (the latter lent not given so as to prevent pawning) and a wide fringe of other benevolent enterprise at home and abroad: a Seamen's Friend

Society, a Temperance Group, and associated efforts for promoting education in the Highlands, Reforming Principles, Jewish Conversion, Church Extension, the abolition of patronage, the abolition of slavery, foreign missions and female education in India.[15]

The provision of education as the alternative to poor relief was impressive if not systematic.[16] In Aberdeen education still meant direct access to the professions and to business; there was a keen interest in schools and schooling. The city supported a Grammar School and a Writing School, both 17th century foundations, and under the headship of the famous Dr. Melvin, the Grammar School attained an unrivalled reputation for the teaching of classics as preparatory to the bursary examinations of the two Aberdeen colleges. The fees were 10/6 a quarter; some lads of promise were assisted, some were put through the school by working-class parents who reduced their comfort and risked their health to have a minister or a doctor in the family; others came back as adult pupils when they had earned sufficient to meet their expenses. And outside the town school, a technical education and some preparation for the university could be secured while still at work in the Mechanics' Institution.[17] This was founded in 1824 and was reorganised in 1835 to give systematic instruction on the lines of the Edinburgh School of Arts. But elementary education was supplied by endowment or charity or private enterprise. There were important bequests from the Danzig merch-

ant, Robert Gordon, which were further expanded in 1815 by the Simpson Fund; there were schools endowed under the will of the educational reformer, Dr. Bell of Madras. The Lancastrian Society was active after 1815. The Incorporated Trades ran classes in the Trades' Hall and the Seamen's Friend Society found itself responsible for a girls' school. With all this energy it was easy to overlook the limitations of this kind of educational provision for an expanding population. The field given over to private enterprise was large and the results of its activity dubious. It was not until 1830 that under clerical and civic patronage an attempt was begun to plant sessional schools systematically. These were to be attached to the church in each parish and to be supported by it. During the Thirties a fresh wave of educational enthusiasm succeeded in establishing seven schools of this semi-public nature and the foundation of a Normal Seminary was projected to serve the town and its hinterland.(18)

Alike in its economic variety, its types of social responsibility and its range of educational opportunity, Aberdeen deserves close study. This isolated and independent centre gives the best example of the continued vitality of an 18th century inheritance of individual effort and responsibility, optimism and benevolence. New conditions might produce varied social tensions but they developed rather than overthrew the accepted tradition. The great factories in the area presented the problem of large-scale mechanical industry,

but they were few and isolated. The town and port attracted a reserve of unskilled labour but most of it came from the hinterland and Irish immigration was limited. The older parts of the town showed poverty, overcrowding and disease but there was a constant selective movement outwards and upwards. The weavers showed here as elsewhere a slow and painful decline but there was a considerable population of skilled artisans, mechanics and shipwrights who supported the Mechanics' Institute and imbibed radical and even "infidel" views from the Aberdeen Chronicle and the Aberdeen Herald. But this was a logical development from 18th century principles. These northern craftsmen had a recognised status; they were independent, proud of their skill and accustomed to joint action. Nor had the environment closed in on them; the best of the next generation could find its way to the university and the professions and more of them carried their industry and honesty into business in Aberdeen and elsewhere. For the rest, a good workman earned the right to rising standards of living and between his occupation, his church and his clubs, found a variety of satisfactions.

(iii)

In the case of Dundee a mixed urban economy was conjoined during the first half of the 19th century with the manufacture of an increasingly dominant staple and the result was a rapid and confused expansion. A commercial centre and a

port of refuge were natural developments at the entrance to the Firth of Tay and during the opening years of the century Dundee was making contacts with an expanding hinterland between the North Sea and the Highlands. (1) It imported coal and lime, flax, timber and tar and it exported grain and an increasing volume of linen products. In 1815 a great impetus to its development was given by the extension of the harbour. This gave an opening for small foundries, shipbuilding and repair shops and employed a considerable number of seamen and whalers and already in 1813, one of the local specialities based on an exotic import had appeared in the London market as Keiller's marmalade. The enterprise of its business men and bankers established steam communication with Perth and Leith and directly with London in 1834. Landwards, the town was cut off from Strathmore by the Sidlaw Hills, but in 1832 these were crossed at a height of 500 feet by a railway eleven miles in length. It used horse power with stationary engines at the inclines and the cost of transport between Dundee and the agricultural zone and the small manufacturing towns of Central Angus fell by two-thirds. In 1836 a steam railway was begun along the coast to Arbroath and Montrose. This extension to land and sea communications was assisted by local financial institutions such as the Union Bank founded in 1809, and in 1836 the numerous and active business interests of Dundee associated to form a Chamber of Commerce. (2)

But the character of the city and its neighbourhood

was now changing with the concentration of linen manufacture in the locality. The population began to rise markedly after the census of 1821. It more than doubled in the next twenty years, from 30,000 to nearly 64,000 in 1841 and the census of 1851 was to reveal a social composition comparable to that of Glasgow. Out of 79,000 inhabitants, nearly 9,000 males were employed in preparing, spinning and weaving lint and linen, but the most conclusive evidence that Dundee was now a mill-town as well as a port was the enumeration of 11,000 women similarly engaged while the number of domestic servants was only a little over 2,000. Of the total population two-thirds had been born in Dundee itself or in the shires of Angus and Perth; but of the remainder nearly 15,000 were natives of Ireland, employed about the docks or in construction work or in the mills, and here as elsewhere these immigrants were unpopular as lowering wages and introducing an alien tradition of faith, manners and customs.(3)

Situated between the Law and the Firth of Tay, the town had difficulty in expanding. The middle classes moved out east and west along the water front and the new steam ferry with its regular passages enabled them to cross to the Fife-shire coast and build their villas at Newport. A wide street was opened in 1828 from the harbour to the centre of the town, and a business and shopping quarter developed on planned lines with the construction of Reform Street in 1833. But it was not found possible to control the growth of the town or to take

advantage of its striking situation. Off the narrow "gates" and wynds round the harbour there accumulated a dense working-class population necessarily tied to their place of work while the mill communities of the neighbourhood formed ribbons of intensive settlement up the narrow valleys between the adjacent slopes. (4)

The civic agencies struggled with the unbalanced development of the town and its rapid increase of population. But the unreformed municipal constitution was even more complicated than usual and the self-perpetuating civic dignitaries resentful of any adverse criticism of their doings. An attempt was made to simplify the "sett" by the Convention of Royal Burghs in 1818; it was then proposed to allow the guildry and the incorporated trades a more direct voice in the selection of their representatives. This only landed the municipality in a law suit over the legality of the appointment of the new Dean of Guild and the burgh was finally disfranchised by the Court of Session in 1830. But the wind of reform was now blowing and an act of 2 William IV extended the burgh boundaries and provided for the election of the town councillors by the burgesses so that Dundee anticipated the general municipal reform by several years. (5) The municipal services had meantime developed as semi-detached enterprises. A Police Act of 1824 divided the city into wards and arranged for the election of police commissioners on a property franchise and for an assessment to defray expenses. A Gas Com-

pany was successfully floated. Yet in the year of Reform and Cholera the water supply was notoriously inadequate and remained so till well into the next decade; and up to that same eventful year the provision for the poor of a town of over 40,000 people had been hopefully met from church collections, voluntary contributions and endowments and administered by a "general session" of the six town ministers and upwards of a hundred elders.(6)

The ecclesiastical and educational establishment of the town was as out of date and rigid as the municipal one. The historic fabric of St. Mary's housed four separate congregations and five ministers and it was only in 1823 that the expansion of the parochial system was begun with the formation of St. David's. An attempt was made in 1834 - 6 to create nine quoad sacra parishes by act of presbytery but this was abrogated as ultra vires. This situation partly explains the strength of dissent in a town with strong Reforming traditions and the religious variety in Dundee during the Thirties was noticeable. In addition to Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, there were several strong seceding Presbyterian congregations and appreciable numbers of Congregationalists, "Scotch" and other Baptists, Bereans, a local cult of "Glassites" and a group of Irvingites. And some of this religious enthusiasm passed into the social and political crusades of the period for temperance, disestablishment, political reform, free trade and Chartism.(7)

There was also no systematic provision of education. The burgh supported a Grammar School and an English School and there was in addition a partially endowed Academy dating from the previous century and offering instruction in modern subjects. In 1832 these schools were united and provided with classical buildings near the new centre of the town beyond Reform Street, a move financed partly by subscription and partly by the proceeds of a tax on beer. But primary education was left to religious, philanthropic and private enterprise. There were numerous Sabbath Schools which sometimes attempted to impart the rudiments to children who had no time or opportunity for schooling during the week. A Sessional school was opened in 1832 and there were several schools attached to the mills. But much of the education of the new generation was picked up by casual attendance at "adventure schools" of very dubious efficiency, and in this town as conspicuously as anywhere in Scotland were becoming apparent the educational consequences of the employment of juvenile and female labour under factory conditions.(5)

Yet Dundee lacked neither tradition nor pride nor a benevolent middle class nor an active working class of skilled craftsmen. The civic institutions of the period appeared in due order: the Infirmary in 1798, the Royal Orphan Institution in 1815, the Lunatic Asylum in 1820. The middle classes patronised the Exchange Coffee and Reading Room, the Subscription Library, the local theatre, the card and dancing assem-

blies in the Town Hall and they supported a range of philanthropic activities. The artisans formed their friendly societies, their social and intellectual clubs and their trade unions. William Lyon Mackenzie had been active as early as 1810 in forming a Rational Institution; a Mechanics' Institute was started in 1826 and received the support of the local working-class writers and scientists, and an Artisans' Reading Room was opened in 1831. Finally, from 1801 onwards the Dundee Advertiser exercised more than a local influence as the spirited exponent of the pervasive liberalism of this energetic community.(9)

These were the aspects of Dundee's development which seemed to justify the optimism of the writer who described it in the New Statistical Account in 1832-33. There were then men alive who remembered when its population was only one-fifth its present number, when its harbour was a crooked wall often enclosing but a few fishing or smuggling craft, when its spinning mills were non-existent. Between 1791 and the year of Reform, its shipping had increased four-fold, its linen trade had been almost entirely developed, its municipal constitution reformed. Nor was it easy to suggest any civic improvement beyond a better water-supply, a new Jail and Bridewell and an enlarged cemetery.(10) It was also true that while the population had doubled, the cost of poor relief had advanced ten-fold, but this, perhaps, was "an evil inseparable from prosperous communities", for where multitudes were gathered together at various

employments "example did not always favour economy, industry and virtue." But by 1840 this optimism, engendered of political anticipation and commercial prosperity, was less defensible and the social costs of progress in Dundee were then exposed in a series of pamphlets written by the Rev. George Lewis, the minister of the recently created parish of St. David's and a pioneer of the social Christianity that was to characterise the Forties.

The population of his parish was over 9,000 -- a number between a sixth and a seventh of the total for the town. It was almost entirely working-class -- for "like Ireland, St. David's is infected with the curse of absentee landlords and capitalists" -- and it was suffering from the effects of the depression which had begun in 1837. The principal occupation for old and young was in the flax mills; of these there were 21, large and small. The male overseers ranked with the skilled mechanics as among the most highly paid tradesmen in the parish, both groups earning (at a general estimate) 20/- a week. But the female mill-workers (almost a thousand in number and mostly young adults and juveniles) were paid 6/- to 3/- weekly, and the minister thought that low wages and the inability to save, long hours, industrial fatigue and the absence of home training and interest a high price to pay for the feeling of independence which made this work seem preferable to domestic service. Next in number to the factory workers he found some 600 weavers, four-fifths of whom were male.

They earned an estimated average of around 8/- weekly and the savings bank returns showed that some of them retained the old-time virtue of thrift. But the occupation was decadent; the facility with which it was learned and the pressure to employ the youngsters of the family as soon as possible was "prolonging its existence beyond the time, multiplying its hands out of the rising population...and maintaining an unequal contest with machine labour..." The flax-dressers or hecklers were in the same position; if still better paid than the weavers, earning as they did 12/- a week, they too were faced with the introduction of machinery. There were also the skilled artisans of the traditional crafts, among whom the masons and wrights were reported as having both the will and the means to save; labourers, carters and other unskilled operatives with a weekly average of 12/-, and in the background, a mass of women working variously and casually at home. These latter Lewis estimated as possibly 1400 in number, few of whom earned more than 3/- a week.

With such low wage rates the working-class population of Dundee could do little to save. Informal friendly societies were numerous and popular; a weekly deposit of 9d to 1/3 provided against sickness and rent-day and secured £3 for a respectable funeral. But these associations "dissolved and reappeared annually" and were exposed to very obvious risks. The more permanent type of investment in a savings bank was not so successful in its appeal. After an activity

of a quarter century, the deposits in the Dundee bank were just under £20,000, in the names of rather less than 2,000 depositors; but these figures compared unfavourably with double that sum and over 5,000 depositors in the Aberdeen Savings Bank, and a town like Greenock, with half the population of Dundee, a numerous body of highly paid workmen and a perfervid enthusiasm for social improvement, had more than three times this amount on deposit.(13)

The social environment of this population was not encouraging. The streets often consisted of a front line of tenements behind which lay a mass of houses accessible by closes, pends or courts without any thoroughfare and "these front steadings form a line of defence against the air and light of heaven as impenetrable as the squares of Waterloo to the bayonets of France." The streets themselves were cleaned by the police, but the closes, courts and common stairs were left to private effort which was discouraged by a water-supply still derived from public wells or sold from water carts.(14) In permitting the continuance of such conditions there was "neither humanity nor economy" and the community paid by exposure to a succession of epidemics. In the seven years 1833-39, there were nearly 12,000 cases of "fever" in Dundee and its mortality rate was 1 in 32 annually as compared with 1 in 45 for Scotland and 1 in 48 for England and Wales. An associated misery was that of intemperance. Lewis estimated that every twenty families in his parish had their publican

or spirit shop "licensed by law to dwell among them and be their tempter". The pawnbroker flourished in his company for the "daily tipple of men and women becomes more than bread and clothes and character". These circumstances help to explain the appeal of the temperance crusade which was organised in 1830 by a local coal carter, William Cruikshank. (15)

In the midst of these afflictions, the official agencies of relief were meagre and the power of voluntary action limited. In a population of over 9,000 there were a thousand Catholics and nearly 2,000 Dissenters. This left about 4,500 professed adherents and supporters of the Establishment. Yet seemingly until 1839 "there existed but one church of any kind in the district" and the total sittings in all parts of the town were estimated at only 20% of the inhabitants instead of the expected 50-60%. The poor relief of the district was centralised in the general session of the whole town. In 1839, it admitted no more and no less than 161 individuals to the poor roll as in some sense permanently dependent, yet Lewis had found "nearly every sixth family deprived of its father" presumably as a consequence of the epidemics. The allowances granted in relief came to a total of over £400 or £2/12/6 annually to each pensioner and his dependents -- a contribution which worked out at 10d a head in one of the poorest districts of Dundee -- a proof "how lightly as yet its mill-owners and capitalists have been taxed for the support of the poor". Even the reformed poor

law of England was lavish in comparison. Transported south of the Tweed, the paupers of St. David's would receive 4/- to 7/6 a week instead of pensions of 1/- and 1/6 and a similar parish would pay out more for relief than all Dundee.(16)

Nor was there any effective public or private provision of education. At the end of the Thirties there existed only one public school in St. David's; its teacher was supplied with a schoolhouse built partly by private subscription, partly by state aid, but he enjoyed no official salary and was dependent on fees paid by his pupils. There were some nine other adventure and dames' schools, their teachers likewise dependent on fees but these had perforce to be so low that after paying the rent of the schoolroom, their income averaged only £25 a year -- much less than the earnings of a skilled mechanic. In consequence, out of 2,100 children between five and 14 years of age in the locality, only one-third attended a day school of any kind. There was indeed a limited enthusiasm for education since adult wages were relatively low and juvenile earnings relatively high. Nor could much effective work be done in Sabbath and evening schools. The minister found less than fifty pupils at night school. He busied himself in planting them in his parish but he admitted that they were melancholy substitutes for the early training of the young, for "exhausted in mind and body from the long hours of the factory, they come with only the dregs of their strength." He had indeed no illusions about

the consequences of the factory system; he knew "nothing to which to liken the present system of rearing children for the factory except to the Egyptian method of rearing children for the market".(17)

Dundee thus exhibited all the social contrasts that followed a rapid urban expansion. Movement upward and movement downward were equally conspicuous; they created mutually unintelligible outlooks and broke the municipal cohesion. The march of progress might benefit the business and professional classes, the organisers of industry and those craftsmen whose skill was either a new one or had not been devaluated by cheap labour or mechanical competition. At the same time, the endemic slums of the small 18th century burgh had been enlarged by a mixed element of semi-skilled and casual labour and by the influx from the countryside or from the crafts in process of displacement or mechanisation. This situation had been further complicated, for Dundee as for Glasgow, by the creation of a factory population, poorly paid by reason of its age and sex and exposed to the consequences of economic fluctuation. In the face of these developments, the agencies of municipal control and guidance had not so much broken down as never been really active in a town which had retained the fixed and limited institutional pattern of an earlier day. By 1840 the social inequality was so patent and its risks to health, order and decency so serious that a revival of communal obligation and action was recognised as urgent and some

kind of municipal unity was in process of re-creation in one of the most difficult social environments in the country. As an instance, the Rev. George Lewis still expressed the solution of the problem in terms of individual obligation and service but he was prepared to qualify the divine right of property and he wanted the agencies of rehabilitation to become public and systematic as well as voluntary. He welcomed help at any point along the extended front. He called on the rich to do their duty; he could see the beneficial effects of higher wages; but he would also have an expanded ecclesiastical and educational establishment, a systematic planting of parochial institutions, a board of health, a building act, a reformed poor law, industrial insurance and an educational qualification for employment. Nor was the problem then solved, for the quality of working-class existence called for improvement by the provision of adult education, of libraries and museums, open spaces for air and exercise and active but innocent amusements. If the Church alone could bring rich and poor together, a government was only fulfilling its primary duties in protecting the health and lives of its subjects at home as well as in defending them by its agents abroad. To a man of this vision, the city might arise (or expand) for the sake of livelihood but it justified itself as an association for the protection and furtherance of a better life. (18)

4.

THE SMALL TOWN.

(i)

Urban conditions and municipal activities have been hitherto illustrated from the four largest towns of Scotland. But expansion is a relative term, and while the great city largely initiates, concentrates and magnifies the social changes of the period, the development of the smaller towns deserves some attention. They show other aspects of a general situation and their particular social experiences were to find political expression in the complex reform movements of the Thirties.

The urban variety of the country has already been noted and any classification is largely a matter of convenience. But the range can be suggested from its extremes. At one end of the scale was a group of active local capitals in historic sites that still attracted commerce and mixed industries, and were likewise convenient centres for the professional services and the political and cultural institutions of an extensive region. Such were towns like Perth, Ayr, Dumfries,

Stirling, Inverness, Elgin and Haddington -- their populations ranging in 1831 up to twenty thousand, their expansion marked but not unbalanced and their influence and interest sometimes much greater than their size would seem to warrant. By contrast, at the other end of the scale were the rapidly growing industrial centres, some carrying forward a long historic tradition, others relatively new: textile towns like Paisley, Kilmarnock, Dunfermline and Hawick, ports like Greenock and Alloa with an industrial concentration in or behind them, confluent coal and iron villages that helped to expand Falkirk and Hamilton and to create Coatbridge and Motherwell. In this group expansion was abrupt and rapid, the staple industries were exposed to economic rise and fall. The agencies of control and adjustment were often defective or lacking and the industrial town tended to lie unconformably on its countryside. Between these extremes were to be found the village burghs of Galloway, the market towns on the Highland margins, the fishing ports of Fife and Moray, the old coal and salt burghs on the Firth of Forth or the Ayrshire coast, the small spinning and weaving towns and villages along the base of the Grampians or the Ochils or in the Border valleys, inland spas like Peebles, Bridge of Allan and Strathpeffer, growing tourist resorts like Rothesay and Oban.

The pattern of expansion was most obvious in the case of the county towns. With improved communications and an expanding hinterland, business and shopping moved from the

"old town" near to the new highways. The artisans kept their traditional places longer but they too eventually followed their market and new working-class quarters grew up as near the new centre as site values permitted. The old town with its High or Broad Street surrounded by high-packed tenements thus tended to become a slum area for casual and migratory labour and the broken and derelict of the countryside, and the townhouse and the cross, the town church and school, the guild-hall and the trades' house, were either removed or left in an inconvenient historical position while the new institutions of the period were more centrally located. On the outskirts of the town were villas of business and professional men in a new and planned quarter; occasionally a weaving or nail-making hamlet was strung along the highway or a group of industries attracted to the cheap transport of a river formed with the houses of their workers a semi-detached industrial village. In the rural neighbourhood were the estates of the local magnates, often traditionally identified with the burgh, active in its politics and business and reaping the benefit of its expansion in rising land values.

This type of expansion was associated with an active middle class, concerned for the progress and efficiency of the town, interested in local development projects and prepared to support the semi-public provision of light and water. There was often a local banking company to encourage them and an increasing number of branches of the competing Edinburgh banks made their appearance. Near the new town centre were the con-

temporary institutions of commerce and culture: the banks and insurance offices, their security and repute symbolised by their impressive frontages, the corn exchange, the subscription library and reading room, the museum and hall of the Literary and Antiquarian Society, the offices of the local weekly newspapers, the new churches and schools. All this activity now affected the old town indirectly. The historical revival of the period stimulated some restoration (often injudicious) of old buildings and the printing of local records and histories and this growing enthusiasm had its share in the revival of the municipal idea. But the economic and social interdependence of old and new was not so apparent. In the earlier years of the century the responsibility of the rich for the poor was usually expressed in terms of a benevolent voluntary action which refused to demoralise its recipients. The artisans were encouraged to invest in friendly society and savings bank; the usual philanthropic agencies were concerned with the deserving poor, the care of orphans, the various educational needs of apprentices, young females and infants. At the opening of the century most towns had a dispensary; by the Thirties, a succession of epidemics had so emphasised the common mortality that some towns were building a public hospital. But the foci of congestion, intemperance and disease seemed to defy the application of the best principles; the necessity of a more effective provision for the poor became patent and the imposition of an assessment was as

disturbing a symptom of social change as the erection of a Catholic chapel.(2)

(ii)

This small town development fostered a bourgeois liberalism that was the expression of successful enterprise, rising comfort and self-respect. The spirit of improvement then passed from private and philanthropic business to concern itself with the reform of municipal institutions that were still feudal in pattern, or with their creation where they did not exist. There were in Scotland 67 royal burghs of varying size, each with its chartered constitution, and all associated in what had been a medieval hansa, the Convention of Royal Burghs. There were 43 burghs of regality and barony; these had begun their existence under a grant from a feudal superior, lay or ecclesiastical, and they represented various stages on the way to municipal autonomy,--12 were now independent of the superior, seven still had a superior but had their position and powers clarified by a charter, 24 were without elected magistrates. There were lastly populous urbanised areas with very little organisation at all beyond a committee of feuars or the vague rule of a superior's bailiff.(1)

The contrast between the success of business ability and virtue outside and its limitation inside the inherited and fixed municipal order can be illustrated in various spe-

cific situations. One important issue was finance. The royal burghs were ruled by self-perpetuating councils on which were represented the merchant and craft gilds recognised in the burgh "sett" or charter. To the enlightened business man outside these inner circles, the conduct of affairs by this patriciate was often inefficient, occasionally corrupt and at all times beyond effective criticism and therefore suspect. The council handled the burghal revenue from various sources -- feu duties and the rent of burgh lands, mills, fisheries and church sittings, local imposts, dues from market and harbour, coal and wood yards, lime shed and dung depot. This income was paid out in salaries to the town minister, the town schoolmasters, the burgh officials, in court and jail expenses, in the provision of police, in street lighting, repairing and cleansing and in some kind of fire-fighting organisation and apparatus. In addition there was usually a heavy annual charge for debt services. But there was no effective control of the management of burgh property or of its alienation or lease. Often there was no inspection of accounts. Nor was the definition of legal responsibility easy. There was doubt as to whether or no a private burgess could sue a council for maladministration and difficulty in finding a court to entertain such an action. By a decision of 1820 in suit against the magistrates of Inverurie, the Court of Session declared that questions concerning the management of the common good and the revenue of royal burghs or the con-

traction of debts by their magistrates were incompetent before it except as specifically conferred on it by a statute of 1693, and further, that burgesses had no title to complain of acts of mismanagement on the part of magistrates unless they directly touched their private and patrimonial right.(3)

An act of 1822 was designed to clear up this situation; no debts were in future to be contracted except by an act of council; alienation and leases were to be made by auction after public notice; accounts were to be open to the inspection of burgesses and they were entitled to make complaint to the Court of Exchequer. But the act was a practical failure. The Municipal Commissioners reported in 1836 that six suits had been initiated under its provisions, and the complaining burgesses had been successful in only one of them. The Court of Exchequer demanded such technical proofs of burgess-ship as to nullify the right of appeal and to expose complainants to heavy costs. The municipal regime continued to be characterised by growing indebtedness often leading to bankruptcy and to be punctuated by occasional exposures of dubious and sometimes illegal transactions.(4)

But even a republican virtue might not have secured efficiency. New municipal needs created new expenses. The various items of income were traditionally earmarked for specific expenses. The income derived from the common good was a free one, but the progressive alienation of town property did more than make the control of its expansion difficult; it deprived the burgh of an income from the rising site values

which its expansion helped to create. The new services were therefore neglected or met by an unpopular assessment passed under an expensive Police Act and limited by its terms to specific objects. An historical county town like Stirling exhibited the results of this civic position and the contrasting vitality of private enterprise. The population had risen from 5,000 to 8,500 between 1801 and 1831, yet at this later date and after it still retained an unpaid nightly watch of citizens (who might provide substitutes at 1/-) and a reserve of "high constables" composed of respectable shopkeepers and tradesmen who acted "spontaneously" or on the call of the magistrates.(5) Street paving was poor; oil lamps were still used in street lighting; the water supply came from public wells only and in the picturesque upper town which was now a noxious slum, there were open sewers that ceased to run in times of summer drought.(6) Yet in such a town, while the civic administration was complex, it was not necessarily corrupt, for a relatively effective system of auditing was practised and the burgh accounts were open to the public and had been correctly kept at least since 1793. But there was not much money available for improved services. Much of the common good had been alienated early in the 18th century and there was little free income from this source. As it was the town debt had nearly tripled in forty years but any resort to a Police Act and an assessment was opposed as unnecessary.(7) Yet the local middle class was active, benevolent and (in the

strict sense of the word) patriotic. During the first quarter of the century a new business centre with Corn Exchange and Athenaeum, banks and hotels, developed on a by-pass of the great northern road and an impressive villa area of terraces and squares was planned in the direction of the King's Park. There was much philanthropy and some attempt to put the public relief of the town on a business basis, its economy all the more justified since the numerous charitable endowments of earlier centuries were criticised as training a large number of the inhabitants to a species of pauperism.(8) The town schools were not reorganised but some public assistance was given to private and charitable effort and at a higher level appeared a School of Arts and a Commercial Seminary. There was a growing interest in the historical monuments of the place and in the amenities of its dramatic situation and some restoration and improvement was carried out at public expense.(9) Yet here as in a miniature Edinburgh, an historic walled town had spread beyond a confined site into a series of sharply defined quarters and the old centre was left to accumulate a mass of poverty, disease and misery that was ignored, repressed or treated by institutions and methods derived from an earlier social experience.

(iii)

In many of the burghs of regality and barony the local conditions provoked a radicalism that was sharper than

the middle-class liberalism of a county town. Some of these burghs were, like Hawick, practically royal burghs without the status. In others a modified right of electing magistrates was vested in burgesses or feuars, subject however to the veto of the superior; this was the position of an important industrial town like Kilmarnock. In a number of towns of considerable importance such as Alloa, Dalkeith, Kelso, Kirriemuir and Fraserburgh, the superior appointed the magistrates and the burgh officials; in other places, the essential services were the concern of a committee of feuars with few powers and little money. Necessity or use and wont might supplement the action of some of these constitutions, but their limitations require to be illustrated in some detail. In 1831, the Dumbartonshire town of Kirkintilloch had a population of over 4,000, largely engaged in weaving and characterised by an enthusiastically radical disposition. It was a burgh of barony with a burgess franchise confined to the proprietors of an arbitrary area in the bounds; these proprietors were 22 in number, and as residence was required as a qualification for magistracy, all but two of the resident burgesses were members of council. Galashiels was a small woollen centre in an area that kept alive its feudal traditions. With the growing popularity of tweeds towards the end of the Twenties, numerous small factories were erected in a narrow valley and by 1831 its total population was over 2,000. The town was partly in Selkirkshire, partly in Roxburgh. In the one shire it was open country;

in the other it was a burgh of barony under two superiors. The bailie of the burgh was appointed by Pringle of Torwoodlea but no court of barony had been held for over a century: there was no court house, no jail, no regular police establishment and attempts made to light and drain the town by voluntary assessment met with only partial success. But trade and manufacture were in all respects free and unplanned expansion was rapid.[3]

Several of the smaller weaving towns in the West were under a similar regime. Strathaven had a population of 4,000 and a radical reputation. The Duke of Hamilton was superior but there was no resident baron bailie as the Duke's factor at Hamilton held the appointment.[4] In North Ayrshire, the introduction of carpet manufactures and worsted mills had raised the population of Stewarton, a village on the outskirts of Kilmarnock, to nearly 3,000. The superior and patron of the parish maintained a court-house for the justices and a lock-up at his own expense; he had the right to levy an impost on meal and to charge for stances at the fair, but these dues were now trifling in amount. There were no local taxes or assessments for local services.[5] In Renfrewshire, Johnstone was now a large manufacturing village of over 5,000 inhabitants three miles west of Paisley: there was no magistracy, no corporate organisation beyond a committee of feuars chosen annually who managed an assessment for the poor. And in the same area of industrial expansion, considerable centres

of population like Barrhead (2,600), Lochwinnoch (2,600) and Beith (5,000) were similarly organised.[6]

In the North East, Lord Douglas was the superior of Kirriemuir which had a population of 4,000. The burgh had neither property nor revenue nor debt; there were no burgh taxes levied except the customs at fairs and markets by the superior. The streets were kept in repair from the statute labour money of the shire and lighted by private subscription. The only magistrate was the baron bailie who was not in the practice of exercising any jurisdiction, but a small debt court was held once a month by a justice and a resident procurator fiscal inquired into offences presentable before the sheriff of the county.[7] Two other local situations in this area may be cited. The duke of Gordon was the superior of Huntly, a burgh of barony with a population of 2,500.[8] He appointed a bailie whose jurisdiction was limited to the feudal duties of clearing obstructions from streets and watercourses, settling boundary disputes between feuars and collecting customs from markets and shops to the extent of over £40 a year. There was no authority for assessing, and the cleaning, lighting and watching of the place were "occasionally and partially effected by voluntary subscription". There was no common good, and the townsfolk accused their superior of having filched certain privileges of pasture, fuel and stone from them some 60 years ago, but there was no evidence of any original grant as claimed. In the same

region, the contiguous villages of Keith, Fife Keith and Newmills were under the superiorities of the Earls of Seafield and Fife.(9) The total population was nearly 3,000; there was neither magistracy nor police; the streets were not lighted nor was water supplied; there was no common good, no local taxation except an assessment for road money, and this was alleged to be spent on the main thoroughfares used by the gentry while the side streets and bye-lanes were so neglected as to be unwholesome. The court-house was in need of repair, the lock-up insecure, and in the absence of a police force, the inhabitants were apprehensive of the crowds of vagabonds and thieves who flocked to the fairs held in the town.

Such local details help to explain the intense radicalism of some small Scottish towns where a skilled, intelligent and self-respecting working class was denied any effective control of the intimate conditions of life and livelihood by a decadent and irrational feudalism. After 1820 the position began to be recognised as indefensible and some towns were encouraged to secure expanded powers by private act.(10) The process can be exemplified in the case of Bathgate, a West Lothian town of 2,600 inhabitants and the centre of a developing mining area. With the concurrence of the superior, the town obtained a new Act in 1824 which provided for a magistracy and council to be elected by the burgesses and authorised an assessment for police purposes. But the details were open to criticism. The assessment could be levied on

occupants of houses of £1 rent or upwards at a rate not higher than 1/- per £. The burgess-ship was open to proprietors, tenants paying at least £3 of rent and subscribers of £1 towards the expenses of the Act of Erection. Payment of assessment did not therefore carry voting rights and since the payments of admission to burgess-ship might be as high as two guineas, the new council represented the propertied classes. There were 84 residents whose rents in property or tenancy amounted to £10 or over, and of these 48 became burgesses; there were 57 persons whose rents came to between £5 and £10, but only nine thought it worth while to pay the dues that gave them a local vote. Municipal reform by private act was thus expensive, piecemeal and conservative; but, limited as they were, the powers granted to a few expanding burghs under this procedure marked the beginnings of any effective municipal action at all.(11)

(iv)

Burghal conditions seemed to many to call for a general and logical scheme of reconstruction to clear away the historical debris, but the problem was complicated by its affiliations. On the one side, the old municipal régime was tied to the recognised gilds and crafts of the town and on the other to an equally medieval scheme of parliamentary representation.

In the burghs the merchant gilds and incorporated

trades still survived but far advanced in institutional decay. The law courts continued to uphold the letter of their monopolistic claims, but permitted them to be whittled away in detail.(1) Even in the ancient royalties, gild privileges were now penetrated by recognised exceptions and evasions. The acts opening any craft to returned soldiers and sailors were interpreted after 1815 to include militiamen and fencibles in their benefits and no specific length of military service nor any test of craft skill was required from these "King's freemen".(2) Disputes that arose concerning the demarcation of old and new processes or production for local disposal or for export or the manufacture of subsidiary articles were now usually decided by the courts with a bias towards a reasonable freedom.(3) Often the gilds themselves made some money by selling licenses to manufacture and trade in their reserved areas and time made the exceptional concession the rule and a source of steady income. In these respects the gilds had lost their economic importance or only retained it sufficiently to trouble those who looked for reason and found injustice in traditional arrangements. There were indeed some towns of importance like Greenock, Port Glasgow and Falkirk which had neither burgesses nor gild-brethren nor incorporated trades and in others, such as Paisley, the incorporations claimed no exclusive privileges and had become convenient forms of friendly societies.(4)

But especially in the royal burghs the gilds retained

a political and social importance and a recognised place in the municipal structure. They took part in the election of the town council; they had rights of tax and toll; they inherited property and had claims to the enjoyment of charitable and educational bequests. They became vested interests and centres of municipal power and influence.(5) In some cases entry fees were high, not to exclude strangers from participating in the craft but to protect its political importance and its accumulated funds and perquisites. In the older burghs illustrations of perversion were the more frequent. The famous Glovemakers of Perth had an income of over £1,000 a year; they charged the sons of freemen £1 entry money with no obligation to practise the craft, while strangers had to be operative and to pay £100 -- a system which "produced results very injurious to young tradesmen", and in fact in 1832 there was not a single operative glover resident in Perth who was a member of the corporation.(6) A more extreme case was that of the Fleshers of Stirling. Owing to extensive litigation they had little property left, but they did claim the twelve best stalls in the market rent free and other rights which were estimated as worth £30 a year to each member. These had been reduced to eight, of whom only two were residents of the town. The sons of freemen paid £8 entry fee but for outsiders the amount required had been progressively raised from £25 to £100 and the applicant had in addition to possess £150 of free property.(7) These may have been extreme cases, but they illus-

trate a general tendency for the gilds to survive with a spurious vitality as protected property-holding corporations. They secured certain benefits from endowments and other assets to participants selected on no very rational principle; they retained the right of representation in the town council and so were convenient stances from which to influence the disposal of public contracts.(8)

But the most important obstacle to a comprehensive burgh reform has yet to be mentioned. The royal burghs were part of two central institutions of medieval origin. One of these, the Convention of Royal Burghs, was now decrepit. It had no proper legislative or judicial powers and for long its chief business had been to consider applications from the poorer burghs for aids or grants from the land tax which was largely paid by the richer burghs. As the vote of each burgh in these transactions was of equal value, the larger burghs had come to consider this "a most unequal and unjust, if not an illegal mode of taxation" and were prepared to see the Convention abolished as without any public utility.(9) But the royal burghs as tenants-in-chief of the Crown were also represented in parliament, first at Edinburgh and then at Westminster.(10) The procedure of election might be here as traditional and as irrational as in the other parts of the political structure but the effect was to link up local burgh issues with national politics and to associate local cliques and interests with the national parties. Burgh and gild reform was

thus resisted as a flank approach to parliamentary change and a parliamentary change became the condition of burgh reform. The electoral arrangements of the Scottish burghs exposed them to political management. Edinburgh was the only burgh which returned a separate member; the others were associated in groups of four or five to elect a common representative. The elections were made by the self-elected town councils who appointed electoral delegates. These met in each burgh of the group in rotation. Each burgh had equal voting value, regardless of its population or wealth, but the burgh in which the formal election was held had a casting vote for the occasion. The results of these arrangements were increasingly irrational as population and wealth increased and concentrated in new sites. Some 67 self-perpetuating town councils averaging 20 persons in each returned 15 members to parliament. Glasgow with a population of 150,000 in 1821 was linked with three other burghs of which the total population was under 10,000; in an election its vote was exactly equal to that of Dumbarton or Renfrew or Rutherglen. There was no representation of any but royal burghs so that Paisley with a population approaching 40,000 in 1821, Greenock with over 20,000 inhabitants and such considerable industrial towns as Kilmarnock and Falkirk, each with over 10,000 inhabitants went unrepresented, yet five small royal burghs on the Fifeshire coast with a total population of 6,000 returned one member and four royal burghs of Galloway with less than 8,000 inhabitants had the same pri-

vilege.[12]

At every point in this chain of delegated authority from gild and burgh to parliament the parties were concerned to apply influence and pressure. The result was not a complete political incompetence. The party oppositions, the family alliances and counter-alliances, the burghal and trade cliques generated much friction and some movement; there were conventions even of give and take and some response to general issues. The abilities which were needed for political management were sometimes associated with practical capacity and civic pride. But the result was to secure burghal office to professional politicians who might be inferior, irresponsible and active only in their own or their patron's interest. In the small burghs particularly, the critics of the regime accused them of being the creatures of local magnates or of forming "a junta of self-elected bankrupts who live upon the revenues of the corporation and give their voice to the aspirant for parliamentary honours who pays them best and makes them most frequently drunk".[13] The municipal situation was thus part of an elaborate structure of law, sentiment and interest, an ancien régime from which it could not easily be isolated. The movements for burgh reform certainly revived after 1815 and it tried to harass the civic powers into a sense of their responsibilities by the use of ingenious legal devices and by a series of investigations to awaken public opinion. But a general change could come only after 1832 and the postponement of

the initial issue complicated the next step. In opposition to a static, irrational and obstructive institutional inheritance, the reformers acquired a distrust of institutional action at all; they emphasised rational and liberal principles derived from a metaphysics or the standards of efficiency and integrity which they had found effective in individual business or craft.(14) But the newer forms of social disorder increased and this kind of reforming enthusiasm was to find itself in the Thirties confronted with problems of municipal development that seemed both to evade its analysis and defy its technique.

PART III - URBAN PROBLEMS AND POLICIES.

1. Housing and Sanitation.
2. The Epidemics.
3. Poverty and Poor Relief.
4. The Christian and Civic Economy.
5. The Philanthropic Movements.

HOUSING AND SANITATION.

(i)

During the early decades of the 19th century it became apparent that an increasing proportion of the population of Scotland had to learn how to live together in an urban environment. This educational process was affected by various factors: the individual's range and grasp of economic opportunity; the conjuncture of old and new standards of conduct; the appreciable immigration from rural and small town backgrounds; the pressure of the brute facts of housing, health and hygiene; the inherited civic traditions and practices and the framework of municipal institutions and agencies. But since attention is liable to be attracted to the extremes of success and failure in the process of adaptation, the variety of possible adjustment should be noted. For some, the expanding town meant opportunity and fulfilment which was eventually expressed in an enhanced social status and a style of living which took the English middle classes as its exemplar of comfort and taste. But many failed to make good their economic footing in the city and gravitated to the growing deposit of congestion, poverty and misery which formed the obverse of urban prosperity. Between these extremes, the majority of the urban population struck a balance of gains and losses;

they made a living, more or less effectively, carried over into a new situation their expectations of what was due them, gained or lost skill, security, comfort and self-respect and passed on a revised version of their code as hopefully as they could to the next generation.

This social transformation was both pervasive and cumulative. The working-class population of a large town, skilled and unskilled alike, would find the fundamental activities of home and neighbourhood, work and play, worship and schooling undergoing an uncontrollable change. Even if the individual was moving upwards, a new discipline of work or a change of site might evaporate the colour and zest of living; in other cases the risk of collapse increased, its occasions became unpredictable and its penalties were crushing. In such circumstances, the contrasts of comparative wealth and poverty, skill and muscle, security and risk were sharpened, while the distinction between the respectable and the demoralised became more than ever a fundamental one.

The problem was indeed a moral as well as an economic one; it was concerned with ends as well as means. The issues of employment and relief, wages and industrial security were related to others as fundamental if not so urgent. In effect, the quality and pattern of living was changing for a population that had inherited a peculiarly strong belief in the value of the individual and his right to a self-respecting and independent existence. For some, urban experience still justified

these assumptions; for many, the new environment seemed to outrage all the decencies and impugn divine justice itself. The result was a wide-spread intellectual and emotional confusion; the diversity of standards and experiences made analysis of a new situation difficult and at first the responses were little more than traditional. This was particularly true of the not inconsiderable body of rural immigrants that were attracted to the towns and the industrial areas. Some established themselves as in a wider parish, and found that hard work, frugality and honesty still earned the expected rewards. Others were struck by such impersonal factors as an economic crisis or an epidemic, or the conflict between inherited values and urban experiences broke down the exposed and unsupported personality.

But after 1815 positive development can be traced along two lines. In the first, the urban working classes learned to act for themselves along an expanding front. A set of protective or consolatory associations began to form round individual, family and craft. The attitudes and interests expressed in these forms of social action were diverse but they suggest the wide-spread tension and shock in those exposed to the pressure of the city. The loss of individual worth might find compensation in an old-fashioned religious fervour or in the utopian enthusiasm for the future or, in some cases, in a preoccupation with metaphysical speculation or scientific discovery. For others, resentment against a crushing environment or the perversion of social justice might find relief in the 'atheism' or

the anti-capitalism of small groups of protestants. But alongside the visions of the sects were the practical forms of mutual help and support, and between 1815 and 1840 these developed a continuity of effort as well as of hope and a practice of associated action that began to achieve results. The transition cannot be adequately expressed as a passage from emotional protest and evasion to realist analysis and practice, but in the development of economic and political association, in the creation of institutions of adult education, in the crusades for temperance, anti-slavery and home and foreign missions, the inspiration becomes definite, the approach more objective, and the aims and methods more specific.

The second line of development shows a somewhat similar arc. This might be described as a transition from sentimental to scientific philanthropy. In face of the spreading social dislocation, both the naif benevolence of the well-disposed and the inherited agencies of control and relief proved ineffective. A new analysis had to be worked out; unemployment, a succession of epidemics, the threat of public disorder, accelerated the process of discovering new standards of communal responsibility. But the intellectual difficulties of the change have to be appreciated. The application of business principles in this sphere might be a necessary though limited benefit. Charity became organised but it also tended to become scientific, optimistic and catholic. It was not until the mid-century that 'social science' found its formal voice in periodical and conference; but

already before the Thirties, and outside those situations that were strictly controlled in terms of the prevailing economic theory, a new interpretation was developing that was both flexible and humane. It spoke with particular authority in the activities and writings of the medical men of the period who tried to cope with urban disease and demoralisation. It was in the field of social medicine that the role of the environment was most demonstrable and the moral calculus most irrational in its incidence. The result was a shift of interest and sentiment; new practices began to push out or break down the inherited attitudes, and new theories of social action followed. Many who regarded Robert Owen's views as unutterable or who held the bureaucratic state as anathema began to find themselves in some emergency actively interfering with material circumstance and property rights or coercing the individualist for his own and the public good. And then when the hot fit was over, reason would reassert itself. ③

(ii)

The pliability of the urban environment had to be discovered by trial and error, but at least one basic element in it seemed obviously beyond the power of the remover to remove. This was the system of concentrated housing, which had given to the older sections of the Scottish towns their distinctive sky-line and which tradition, law and economics were perpetuating in the newer

ones. The working classes, skilled and unskilled alike, and a considerable portion of the middle classes were housed in three-, four- or five-storied tenements of stone. Adequate statistics are not available for the earlier part of the century but the two-roomed flat was prevalent while a substantial minority of the working-class families in a town like Glasgow would be living in one-roomed flats. These conditions encouraged urban congestion, imperfect sanitation and a disregard of amenity.

This situation is to be partly explained as due to a tradition of housing that was European rather than English; but it was also encouraged by economic and legal factors. The acquisition of land for residential or industrial purposes was affected by the quasi-feudal land law of the country. In the towns the prevalent mode of utilisation was neither by purchase nor lease but by a contract to feu. In this arrangement the superior granted the use of the site to a vassal under restrictive conditions as to the erection of buildings on it and the control of nuisances. In return, the feuar bound himself to an annual payment of feu-duty which was often supplemented by special payments at stated intervals. The feuar might improve the land and erect buildings within the terms of the contract, and then let or sell them to occupiers or investors. But he had also the right to sub-feu and then he might speculate in rising land values; he could acquire land and dispose of portions of the feued area at his convenience. This

process of sub-feuing would carry with it its own arrangements as to uses and payments as long as they were within the legal limits of antecedent contracts. Ground landlords, feuars and occupiers were thus bound together in an elaborate structure of legal rights and duties which for all practical purposes could endure indefinitely. Land values might respond ultimately to the pressure of supply and demand, but the response was obviously an imperfect one and to those in the early 19th century who thought in terms of the simple thrust and counter-thrust of these forces, "free trade" in land was not encouraged by this net of legal devices at a time when urban expansion made an open market all the more desirable. Further, since feuing rights could be bought and sold and were favourite objects of investment and speculation, land rights and duties tended to become divorced from personal responsibility and a fair exchange of services and payments. In this situation, the critic could emphasise the element of individual exploitation in the case of the ultimate land-user who seemed to bear the whole structure on his back; or he became gradually conscious that the income derived from rising land values created by urban expansion seemed to pass backwards to passive recipients whose claims were "legal" rather than justifiable. Both these lines of criticism, individual and social in their terms, were to enter into the content of mid-century radicalism and then diverge.(2)

A third line of criticism was associated with the

social consequences of this system of land utilisation, and concerned itself with the quality of the article it supplied. This point requires some elaboration.

The superior retained an ultimate right of ownership in the site, but in effect he lost any interest in its development as long as the conditions of the feu were fulfilled. In return for alienating the use of the land, he was relieved of the payment of rates and he secured a fixed perpetual income from feu duties. These could be alienated and were in fact popular forms of trust investment for the buildings on the feu were good securities and the obligation to pay feu-duty was passed on to every individual feuar and sub-feuar as a primary obligation. In this position, the superior tended to postpone feuing until the site was "ripe," to impose as heavy a duty as he could get and to ease restrictions to attract offers.

The second agent in the process of development was the feuar. He acquired the use of the land within the conditions of the deed of feu and under a secure and perpetual tenure. He had an unrestricted possession of the improvements he made, and unless there was a specific prohibition to that effect, he retained the right to sub-feu. These arrangements economised capital and encouraged a rapid and speculative building. The feuar did not have to pay a heavy purchase price and his ordinary and extraordinary payments to his superior could be passed on as part of the rent to occupiers or by sale to smaller investors. Purchase was further facilitated by the

device of the "ground annual" whereby a low selling price was supplemented by a series of annual payments. The speculative builder could thus dispose of his constructions quickly to owner-occupiers who bought a flat-unit in a tenement as well as to block-purchasers who were in business as landlords. He was able to meet a rapidly expanding demand for accommodation of a certain standard by turning over his capital; he recouped his expenses, made his profits and passed on to fresh schemes while still retaining a more permanent income from his rights as feuar or aub-feuar. But if the initial feu duties were heavy or if the expected rise in values was debateable, an intensive building was encouraged in the traditional style of the country. There was no legal obstacle to the subdivision of flats; there might be no restriction in the feu-contract as to the reservation of open spaces or the density of construction, and indeed the demand for accommodation at low rents might be so pressing as to create its own attraction for speculators and investors alike. If the return from each individual tenant was small, the total was large; if there was the fuss of collecting and the risk of default, there was less demanded in the way of upkeep. In such cases, a tradition of close building which might have been made healthy by strict attention to open spaces and common conveniences was allowed to expand in the worst possible circumstances and to develop an inertia of physical mass and financial interest that seemed to defy criticism.

Lastly, there was the actual occupier, usually the owner or tenant of a one-, two- or three-roomed flat in a tenement. These constructions were substantial for prospective buyers or tenants were as insistent as they could be on protection against Scottish wind and rain. They might be owned by a single landlord who rented, or held by numerous owner-occupiers. The owner or owners were obliged by the terms of purchase to keep up the general fabric and there were regulations as to the common access and the use of "closes," stairs and drying-greens. In a tenement with a high proportion of middle-class or artisan owner-occupiers, public opinion might be vigilant against activities that threatened the amenity of the block, but in the low-priced and congested areas, where short-term renting was more general than purchase, the conditions in which a numerous family had to be reared were difficult in the extreme. Outside, the tenements were drab if not dirty; light and air might be cut off by neighbouring houses; in some cases what had once been a court was now filled up and the buildings stood "back to back." Inside there were few fixed conveniences. The family activities were confined to one or two rooms. There were few or no storage facilities; unlike the rural "but and ben," the city flat lacked roof-space and outhouse and garden. Water might have to be carried from public wells up three, four or five flights of stairs; when a piped supply was made available, the water rates might be beyond the means of those who needed it most. Household

refuse of all kinds had to be carried downstairs. Sanitary conveniences were primitive or defective or overworked. A lazy or careless occupant could offend a dozen families who used the common stairs and passages and unless constant attention was paid to the interior yards by the individuals who used them debris, filth and dirt accumulated and was spread by wind and rain. It was to the general interest of a proprietor to keep up the value of his property, but an owner-occupier might not have the capital or the speculative landlord the inclination to install new and expensive sanitation nor might the class of tenants in question be able to pay higher rents. Even in areas inhabited by decent working-class families, the great stone structures became progressively dirtier; for the mother of a large family, life became a constant struggle for cleanliness; for the father, the friction of overcrowding, or the constant hugger-mugger when the wife was not a good manager, made escape to the public-house a continual temptation. These conditions help to explain the working-class emphasis on family discipline, modesty and respectability; they help to explain the solace of a church connection, the hope of excape that a good education offered to the younger generation, the bitterness of protest in the name of God or the Rights of Man against the series of superposed monopolies that seemed associated with such misery. For when the family discipline and cohesion broke, when unemployment, sickness or intemperance complicated the situation or when an influx of rural immigrants could hard-

ly be taught to accommodate themselves to the minimum standards of decency and cleanliness which urban existence demanded, the descent into squalor might be sudden and complete. (4)

(iii)

In these circumstances of urban overcrowding and insanitation, voluntary association could at best supply only a palliative or a compensation. A public interest in these matters had to be created. This was at first expressed as an external concern for order and decency, its agency usually a voluntary benevolence. It was only after 1815 with the arrival of the fever epidemics that housing and health became matters of general discussion and communal action. By 1832, in the urgency created by the cholera, the general advantage was asserted over private rights, even if only for a limited purpose and for a limited time.

There was indeed very little recognition of any public interest in building developments or their consequences. Where a town council was a superior of land -- as in the case of part of the New Town of Edinburgh -- it could lay down a plan for its feuars to follow; such a plan might create a pattern of streets and blocks and in some exceptional cases, such as that of Charlotte Square, provide for a regular style of building; and once a planned area was initiated, neighbouring superiors might see their advantage in extending it. But such planned areas were restricted and the terms of their con-

struction might not allow for any subsequent intervention to control building density or defend amenity. At the opening of the century, the lanes of the New Town of Edinburgh were developing in very sharp contrast to its squares and terraces, and fifty years later, the amenity of a great thoroughfare like Sauchiehall Street in Glasgow was liable to be wrecked by the intrusion of a belt of congested building that was bound to generate slum conditions. As a municipal authority, the town council in Scotland was indeed limited in such matters to the traditional powers of the Dean of Guild's Court, to the application of the common law of nuisance, and to specific powers given them by various parliamentary Police Acts. But any tendencies these agencies might show to assert a public interest in this sphere met the resistance of the affected private rights, the bias of the courts towards a strict interpretation of the law, and the inertia of custom and intellectual prejudice which survived even a succession of epidemics.

In the various burghs, the Dean of Guild's Court was the old court of the merchant gild, but it had lost its mercantile jurisdiction and for some centuries it had been accustomed to deal with "questions of neighbourhood". This practice had been given legal backing by an Act of Charles II (1663 c. 6) which authorised burgh magistrates to enforce the repairing or rebuilding of ruinous houses. The composition of the court varied according to the specific municipal constitution and sometimes it included members representing the Trades as well as the Guildry, but the Dean of Guild was in

theory its sole judge. The court heard the views of the parties affected by building schemes; it might inspect premises; it issued warrants of erection and alteration. It concerned itself with alleged encroachment on private and public rights and with some forms of nuisance. It had the power to condemn ruinous and dangerous buildings. In the case of Edinburgh, the court had been granted additional powers by an Act of 1698 (c. 8) which attempted to restrict the height of buildings in the city to "five stories above the causeway" and in other ways to lessen the risk of fire. In the Edinburgh court it was also the business of a procurator fiscal, a public official attached to the court, to hear complaints and prosecute if he thought fit, so that it was unusual for private parties to take action.(2)

But such a court might be anything but effective. Its procedure was traditional and most of its work was routine, "sanctioned by sufferance and habit". The Dean of Guild was an untrained judge, his tenure of office might be short, and he was more interested in his position as head of the Guildry and as a member of the Town Council. Nevertheless there might remain to this indeterminate authority a margin of discretionary power capable of development, even against the pressure of private interests and the suspicion of other courts. A decision of 1774 in the case of Buchanan v. Bell was claimed as warranting the doctrine that prescription could not be pleaded against the Dean of Guild's regulations, and further it was argued that

not only was the Dean entitled to act on pre-established police regulations but that he could, without regard to established custom and even because in his opinion the custom was a bad one, issue new police regulations and enforce them. This power of independent action was seemingly to be confined to cases of encroachments and dangerous buildings. In 1808, the pleadings in the Glasgow case of Charity v. Riddle suggested a possible expansion of the term "dangerous". The enlargement of a glue factory was contested as a nuisance. The Dean considered the effect on public health as relevant and requested medical evidence; he found that the proposed glue works, "although not necessarily harmful to the health of the inhabitants in the neighbourhood", would render "the enjoyment of life and property uncomfortable" as well as lessening the value of adjacent tenements. His decision in favour of the complainant was appealed against in the Court of Session, but though it was confirmed, it was on other grounds. Any further development of a doctrine of public interest in health and amenity was arrested. The authority of Erskine confined the court to a care "that buildings within burgh be agreeable to law, neither encroaching on private property nor on the public streets or passages and that houses in danger of falling be thrown down". In 1834 the Session supported this strict interpretation in Donaldson v. Pattison: the authority of the Dean of Guild was limited to cases involving only the actual construction of buildings; it was not concerned with the pur-

poses for which they were erected or the consequences of the erection, which might of course be fit subject of complaint in another court. As to nuisances, the Dean had certainly a jurisdiction, not merely because there was a nuisance but because there was an architectural nuisance as when a wall impended over a street so as to endanger the lives of the lieges. It was not until twenty years after this decision that a group of ardent Glasgow reformers supported by a changed public and professional opinion determined to make the Dean of Guild's Court a more effective agent of municipal regulation. (3)

An appeal to the common law of nuisance was equally unfruitful. In Scots law, the meaning of nuisance happened to coincide roughly with popular usage as implying a situation in which one party by his direct operation or by negligence occasioned something offensive to the sight, smell or hearing of another. There was a distinction between statutory and common law nuisance but no development as in England of public as well as private nuisance. A vague public concern in a nuisance seemed to exist only in cases where there was an element of danger implied, as where buildings became unsafe or a watercourse dangerous. In burghs, the Dean of Guild had jurisdiction over such limited nuisances. Otherwise the procurator fiscal might be occasionally authorised by the Lord Advocate to apply to the Sheriff by petition to ordain those responsible to remove or abate; but this whole procedure remained vague during the 19th century. Generally, only those individuals

directly affected by an alleged nuisance could bring proceedings in a civil court; they ran the risks of an adverse decision, had to bear the costs and were exposed to appeal and delay. Nor was a nuisance easy to recognise -- for legal proceedings. The complainant might have to prove its existence by technical evidence; he must not have come to it after its establishment nor have submitted to it so as to imply acquiescence. It might be covered and defended by pre-existent rights or by prescription, and a decision of 1809, concerning the famous sewage meadows lying to the east of Edinburgh (Duncan v. Earl of Moray) seemed to give something like a right of "reasonable development" to an alleged nuisance.(4) Public amenity or health were not relevant considerations nor isolated from other damages; until the emergency of the cholera epidemic of 1832 there was apparently "no instance in which the manner of living which people chose to adopt either with regard to the nature or situation of their dwelling houses or otherwise, could be interfered with on the ground that their own health or that of others might be affected".(5) Even in the case of a statutory nuisance, that is, one defined by law as in a local Police Act, enforcement was often weakened by strict interpretation, by difficulties of administration in small and irrational areas and by a public opinion that refused to change its habits except in the panic of an epidemic. In such a case the Cholera Act of 1832 gave temporary powers to local Boards of Health and a decision of 1835 (Davidson v. Glenny) protected

these agencies against claims for damages arising out of the legitimate exercise of their duties; the Session recognised "that in the circumstances...the conduct of the defender and of the Board of Health under which he acted was sufficiently warranted by a due and prudent regard for the public safety". But by the time this decision was announced, the emergency had passed and with it the powers of the Special Act.(6)

There was finally the slow but important growth of municipal powers by police acts, mainly concerned with public order and cleanliness. A town council had first to be convinced of the necessity of action. The procedure of private legislation was complicated, expensive and time-consuming and hostile interests might fillet the bill in committee. Once the bill was passed, there was the further difficulty of securing an effective administration and a continuity of policy. The local police acts show an increasing scope in their provisions; a professional and public opinion developed in support of them but the opposition of interest and inertia was strong. The recurrent epidemics helped to break up the crust of popular custom and prejudice but the state of panic they induced had its own dangers and the public education in matters of health was painfully slow. Those most concerned had to learn to cooperate with the new specialists in urban hygiene. These made demands that taxed a lukewarm approval; even if they were supported by legal powers, public indifference or impatience might make them ineffective. Trained

agents were lacking as well as accepted standards; and everywhere a forward policy might be tripped up by the obstacle of private rights, claiming priority or compensation and sometimes taking advantage of the public need.

The Edinburgh Police Act of 1832 may be cited as illustrating this situation in detail. It was drawn up under the apprehension of cholera and passed during the actual epidemic. Its provisions were therefore a marked advance on previous enactments; but the drafting was hurried and so defective as to open the way to legal obstruction.(7) The act tried to enforce the co-operation of the private citizen with the authorities in public health measures, but while the emphasis on public intention had a certain value as a statement of things hoped for, the innovations provided for tended to lose their drive before pre-existent private rights and public indifference. Except where public danger was apparent or a public profit could be expected, interest slackened and penalties became ineffective. The magistrates themselves were lenient in cases where the practices complained of were sanctioned by use and wont and the police grew discouraged. Thus the act prohibited the accumulation of dung and refuse in streets, squares, closes and passages within the bounds and its removal as a nuisance could be enforced on the certificate of a Commissioner of Police and two physicians. But this attempt to clean the interior squares and yards of the city could not touch private accumulations for sale as manure.

In the centre of the Old Town the tan yards could still mix their offal with the water of a common sewer to make fertiliser and their smell became almost as notorious as that from the sewage farms in the neighbourhood of Holyrood. The keeping of pigs in dwelling houses was now definitely prohibited, but there were numerous stables and dairies in the city which accumulated their refuse until convenient for sale and removal; in many interior courts the middens rose several feet in height; they were kept there indefinitely as the matured compost fetched higher prices, and any interference with the practice was objected to as violating a customary and legitimate source of income. Section 10 of the act provided that occupiers should clean common stairs and passages under penalties; but the obligation could not be enforced, and the police, vested now with a right of property in the night-soil from the tenements, began to remove the filth themselves from courts and closes as well as from public highways and places. This service justified itself by the sale of manure; the "Innocent Railway" to Dalkeith and the Union Canal to the west were used to remove the city's refuse by truck and barge, and in the Forties the costs of the cleansing department were all but covered by its receipts, an income of £10,000 being set off against an outlay of £12,000.(8) But the condition of the common stairs in the congested parts of the city remained a problem. In the great stone constructions the introduction either of a water supply or of the new (and sometimes dangerously

imperfect) sanitary conveniences of the period was difficult and costly; the tenement-dwellers did not expect such improvements and they would have been unable to pay the higher rents so occasioned. Yet the condition of the interior stairs was often appalling. The system of holding the occupants responsible had broken down; the penalties provided could not be enforced against working-class opinion. The police authorities occasionally removed the filth themselves but the proposal to treat the stairs as "upright streets" and have them cleaned systematically by public agents was obviously open to the criticism that one species of private property would be given a preferential treatment and become an unjustifiable cause of public expense. Section 15 seemed to provide a compulsory sewerage and drainage but only at the expense of "the proprietors whose property shall derive benefit therefrom". This clause was practically nullified by legal device. The open drains of the Cowgate continued to catch the run-off from the High Street and the Canongate until it was finally proposed to pay for the expense of covering them by public subscription; but even then, while the philanthropic promoters of the scheme were given what protection the Police Act could afford, they were constantly harrassed by claims from interested parties for obstructing the causeway.(9)

It was also the aim of the City to use these and other powers to abolish the nuisance of the irrigated meadows around the city. These private enterprises which used the

local sewage had survived attack by private complainants. In the case of the Police Act, the threatened interests led by the Earl of Moray as ground superior secured the insertion of a conditioning clause forbidding the diversion of water "at present conducted into any existing outlet". The Foul Burn thus continued to justify its name; its uses were protected by rights of priority, as well as by "their innocence" (for a smell could not be easily proven deleterious to health or property) and by "the unquestionable right of property in the stream" (which was treated as a social ultimate)[10]. The expansion of the city suffered; the Palace of Holyrood was declared by medical opinion not to be a fit habitation for the young Queen.[11] It was even proposed to make the Crown a direct complainant as a resident of the affected area, since against it no rights of prescription were seemingly valid. But since this irrigation increased land values enormously, the eastern meadows continued to add their smell to those of the tan-yards and breweries in the Old Town and private enterprise began to create similar areas on a smaller scale on the North Side, beyond the West End and in the superior district of Morningside.[12]

2.

THE EPIDEMICS.

(i)

The epidemics were an especially erratic factor in the post-war urban environment and they had a considerable social and intellectual influence. Their advent helped to darken the popular imagination already strained by the signs and portents of the long war and by its last years of economic depression. To some, these manifestations of disease and death emphasised the need of evangelical preparation while others sought relief in an unrefined hedonism which regarded alcohol as the best preventive. The peculiar incidence of the visitations called for a religious as well as a scientific explanation; their analysis and treatment presented a medical problem; their social consequences added to the mass of urban misery that existed beyond the aim of the poor law and the means of private benevolence. But out of bitter and repeated experience, the medical men of the period built up a body of practical measures, for which they could claim some recognition from the state and its support in a necessary minimum of coercion in a crisis. Gradually they converted themselves and the more enlightened public to the need of a more preventive hygiene, and at the height of its agitation the popular mind would begin to regard its doctors as formerly it had re-

garded its clergy; they might have only an empirical knowledge but they inspired an increasing confidence. Yet the advance of medical knowledge and public education in these matters was slow. The emergency measures lapsed when the emergency passed; prejudices and superstitions arose to block the acceptance of scientific authority and the doctors differed and disputed among themselves, as they fumbled towards the key to the mysteries of epidemic infection; the very classification of the prevalent diseases was a major difficulty. But after the great cholera epidemic of 1832 there is a definite advance in the professional discussion; by 1840 an increased technical understanding based on the experience of both the European and American epidemics was beginning to separate out the varieties of "fever" covered by the single blanket term while the new knowledge and practice were diffused by professional associations and their journals. The problem was also seen to be a social one. The creation of some kind of permanent machinery of prevention and control began to be urged by prominent experts. The response was indeed limited; the central and local authorities were loath to be convinced but they were increasingly harried by health fanatics and busybodies who began to win support from a widening circle. Ultimately it had to be admitted that the epidemics did recur, that they were no respecters of persons and that the expense which they occasioned might be more than that of their prevention.

The epidemics arrived in the Scottish towns after a

period of comparative improvement in the general health of the community. This was possibly due to war prosperity and the increased supply and variety of diet as well as the advance of medical knowledge of specific diseases and the practice of free inoculation. Between 1790 and 1800, smallpox had accounted for 12% of the deaths in Edinburgh; for 1810 - 1820 this figure had dropped to 1.5% and medical interest was now turning to the control of other serious infantile diseases such as measles and whooping cough, with a success that must be put against its comparative failure in the case of the epidemic "fevers".(2) With the draining of the Nor' Loch, the Meadows and other marshy spots in the vicinity, "ague" had disappeared from the city but the ravages of consumptive "decline" and rheumatism were still beyond control except by general improvement of diet and living conditions.(3)

These were appreciable. The urban working classes existed on a staple diet of porridge, potatoes and herring; meat was not generally consumed, but beef bones were bought for stock, porridge had to be helped down with milk, and the use of tea and white bread -- a sign of rising living standards -- was now becoming general. Personal hygiene was likewise improved by the use of cotton underwear and by a better if still limited supply of water. New sanitary conveniences were not common until the increased water supply after 1824 made their continuous use possible; they were first introduced into the houses of the New Town but their construction was so imperfect as to

expose that quarter to a series of puzzling and virulent epidemics which spared those who cared less for cleanliness.(4) Nor was the installation of water for ordinary household purposes as general as might have been expected; its introduction was expensive and the water rate high by working-class standards so that as late as 1840 it was estimated that two-fifths of the houses in the city under £4 of annual rent still drew their supplies from public wells.(5)

But in so far as these factors were active, they reduced the urban death rates and the decline became apparent during the war years. After 1815 the improvement continued but it was covered by the rising death rate due to the epidemics and their consequences. Edinburgh, for example, had been considered free of epidemic fever since 1793. It reappeared extensively in 1817 and continued for three years. Public opinion associated its arrival with the influx of casual labour required for the construction of the Union Canal and the extensive building schemes in the city.(6) The disease (or diseases) remained endemic in the area of congestion and demoralisation where the great tenements were overcrowded and filthy and their population frequently destitute and intemperate. Fever (or fevers) then became epidemic again in the years of economic depression: in 1826 and the following years, in 1836-37, in 1842, and in 1847-48. In 1832 occurred the first great visitation of cholera; it returned in 1849. And there were also intermittent outbreaks of influenza, "dysenteric"

complaints and even a revival of smallpox (due to carelessness) and some of the infantile diseases. In consequence the death rates began to rise. From 1810 - 1819 it was estimated that Edinburgh had an average death rate of 1 in 40 of the population and this despite the economic depression and the ill-health of the latter half of the decade; for 1830 - 1839 the average rate had risen to 1 in 34. In Glasgow, the rate was more than 1 in 40 for seven individual years between 1822 and 1831 and more that 1 in 30 in 1832 (1 in 21.67), 1836 (1 in 28.9) and 1837 (1 in 24.6), the first figure of the series due to cholera, the later ones due to fevers associated with the misery of the Cotton Spinners' Strike and the economic depression. Comparable figures were to continue during the Forties. (7)

The difficulties of effective medical action in these circumstances can be first illustrated by the fever epidemics of 1817 - 19 in Edinburgh and Glasgow. (8) The term "fever" covered a variety of symptoms which the science of the period was trying to sort out into typhus and typhoid, relapsing and spotted fever, each with its characteristic mortality rate. But its causation was open to argument. Popular opinion and some doctors blamed the miasmatic exhalation from decaying matter in adjacent dungsteads or filthy courts or wafted over Edinburgh from the irrigated meadows; but this suggestion lackedproof. Some medical men argued that poverty, under-

feeding and mental depression made the disease epidemic and called for a more generous public assistance as the best preventive. Others identified it with the jail, hospital, camp and ship fevers of the 18th century and regarded it as similarly due to living in crowded and filthy quarters.(9) As an Edinburgh observer put it, "the real sources of typhous contagion are the crowded and contaminated dwellings of the unfortunate... Nothing certainly could be more laudable than the providing the labourer...with employment; but the public interest loudly demands an equal attention to his lodging..."(10) But the mechanism of infection was unexplained. The low class lodging-houses -- the "flea-barracks" as the Irish called them -- were obvious centres of disease, but the analysis was confused by the variety of symptoms that might be associated with filth or famine as well as with overcrowding and there was a further and later complication in the occasional outbreak of some allied disease in the more prosperous areas which prided themselves on the installation of the best sanitary apparatus of the day.

The measures taken to limit the plague show an emphasis on early notification and hospital treatment; this was supplemented by a policy of ventilation and cleanliness. But these activities in the situation of 1817-19 implied no coercion. They relied on the cooperation of a section of the population that was suspicious and ill-educated. Early notification had to depend on the report of neighbours or visiting doctors; sometimes information had to be supplied by the minister

and his elders. For the classes most exposed to contagion evinced a deep distrust of the discipline of the town-hospital, and with the construction of separate fever hospitals in Edinburgh and Glasgow, the new policy of strict isolation and no visiting did nothing to dissipate suspicion.(11) These hospitals were erected by funds provided by public subscription, with possibly some small contribution from the Common Good fund of the city. Private charity was also active in carrying out the supplementary measures. The doctor had to convince the dwellers in an infected house that ventilation and cleanliness were necessary. Yet a supply of water might have to be carried from the public wells up several flights of stairs and windows were made to keep out wind and wet, not to let in air, fresh or foul. The expenses of white-washing the walls had to be met by charitable assistance. If clothes and bedding were condemned, their destruction had to be supervised and the articles replaced, for otherwise they might simply disappear into the nearest old clothes shop for a consideration, and indeed the rag-stores came to be regarded awith the cheap lodging houses as among the most virulent centres of disease.(12) A more or less business organisation had to see to these matters and arrange some kind of inspection and control. In Edinburgh public subscriptions were therefore handled by the voluntary Society for the Relief of the Destitute Sick who worked with the doctors attached to the city dispensaries and the systematic co-operation of medical men, ministers and elders was

suggested as an obvious development of practice.(13)

But to some this was not enough. Dr. Robert Graham, an active Glasgow expert who was Professor of Botany at the University, was in favour of inducing the infected to take advantage of the new hospital treatment provided, but "if the aversion which the lower classes in Scotland have to an infirmary...should be such as to keep any one from applying, it is for the Police to determine what steps to take to oblige him to leave a situation in which he cannot remain with safety to his fellow men". But prevention as well as coercion was indicated. Dr. Graham wrote one of the earliest of descriptions of the Glasgow slums which had been formed by the building over of the interior courts of the older parts of the city. Let the visitor

> "pick his steps among every species of disgusting filth, through a long valley from four to five feet wide, flanked by houses five floors high, with here and there an opening for a pool of water from which there is no drain and in which all the nuisances of the neighbourhood are deposited in endless succession to float and putrefy and waste away in noxious gases. Let him look, as he goes along into the cellars which open into this lane and he will probably find lodged in alternate habitations, which are in no way distinguished in their exterior and very little by the furniture which is within them, pigs, cows and human beings which can scarcely be recognised till brought to the light or till the eye of the visitant gets accustomed to the smoke and gloom of the cellars in which they live".

This was written in 1818.(14) It could be paralleled in certain quarters of any large Scottish town. It is repeated in the medical reports of the Forties and not much changed in the reports of the Sixties. Dr. Graham indicated how it might

be treated. He advocated the compulsory removal of dunghills and the levelling of dungsteads, the drainage of the courts and the cleaning of closes and stairs. But as he thought congestion was the prime cause of disease he was equally concerned to control housing conditions. "it might be thought a strong measure to enter a man's house and regulate the accommodation of his family even though the public good seemed to require it", but in the circumstances, overcrowding should be prevented by police regulation.(15) He wanted straight and wide streets driven through the Glasgow slums and the concentration of building so controlled by law as to allow for proper ventilation. The actual construction of new houses might be the work of a voluntary housing association, for he could not imagine "a more judicious charity than the building of houses for the poor on an approved plan and in a good situation". At the least, a beginning could be made with the powers seemingly already available for the municipal inspection and regulation of the cheap lodging houses of the city; into these warrens were packed the rural and Irish immigrants under conditions that were incredibly filthy and infectious.(16)

But it was to take more than one epidemic to convince the public, work out a public health policy and create an organisation for its execution. During the Thirties, the activities of a local Fever Committee or Board of Health showed an administrative advance; they were more business-like and less apologetic. But the set-up was still a res-

ponse to an emergency. There was a public appeal for funds, then the building of temporary isolation hospitals amid the protests of the selected neighbourhood which was determined to run no risks of contamination. There was a vigorous if not very effective campaign of ventilation and fumigation and white-washing. Then the epidemic died down, the subscriptions ceased to flow, the Fever Committee wound itself up with a statement of accounts and a vote of thanks.

(ii)

The cholera of 1832 made a much more vivid impression on the public and while the measures it called forth were still emergency ones, they deserve some detailed attention.

The disease was a novel one, advancing relentlessly from the East across Russia and Poland. The channels of infection were unknown. Some emphasised its "flightiness", that is, its direct passage through the air; others invested each victim with a "choleric atmosphere" which caused the disease within its range. It might seemingly spread by direct contact or indirectly through clothes and bedding and rags, but its occasional spurts of activity and its unexpected extensions defied an analysis that was unaware of the factors of infected soil and polluted drinking water or the rôle of flies in the contamination of food.

It was mainly an urban disease, and in the towns it was most prevalent among the destitute and the intemperate.

During the epidemic of 1832, the disease claimed nearly 10,000 lives in Scotland; of this number, Glasgow and its suburbs accounted for over one third; Edinburgh and the other large towns -- Leith, Dundee, Greenock and Paisley, and the exceptionally severe visitation of Dumfries -- accounted for another third, while the deaths in the mining and fishing villages, notoriously casual as to their water supply and drainage, made up a good deal of the remainder. But there were generally wide local differences. Dundee reported over 500 deaths; Aberdeen less than a hundred; the relatively small towns of Dumfries and Musselburgh suffered over 400 and 200 deaths respectively, yet in Perth the total mortality from the disease was only 66. Some small fishing villages became death traps. In Inver, near Tain in Ross-shire, 41 died out of a population of between 120 and 140. "Coffins could not be made fast enough. Many were buried in sailcloth. The people fled from their houses to the fields"[2]. A further contrast may be indicated. Scotland had a higher mortality rate than Ireland; yet Dublin, which had some 200,000 inhabitants and was thus about the same size as Glasgow, had nearly twice as many deaths.[3]

The cholera reached Sunderland from Hamburg late in 1831. Then the infection travelled along the northern roads to Haddington, Tranent and Musselburgh which suffered severely in January 1832; by the 27th of that month the first case appeared in Edinburgh. The disease then moved along the Forth

and Clyde Canal to Kirkintilloch and entered Glasgow on the 9th February. It was not until the end of February that it reached London by an independent line of infection.(4)

The popular imagination in the North was profoundly disturbed by the approach and arrival of the disease. Its appearance was "freakful". First there were sporadic cases, then it might burst out furiously in a limited locality, die down and revive as a general epidemic in the late summer. Its attack was insidious and might be mistaken for a simple digestive disturbance. Then followed collapse with revolting and terrifying symptoms. In some cases death might come within one or two hours; but death itself was followed by a mysterious rise in body temperature and deceptive muscular movements so that a deluded hope might protest against the rapid burial of the corpse which was intended to prevent infection.

Medical opinion was confused as to the treatment as well as the cause of cholera; the result was a perfect aviary of nostrums: pills, clysters, mustard poultices, hot-air baths, preventive belts. The use of camphor and musk and "anti-spasmodics" was publicly urged and advertised, and despite the partiality which the disease seemed to show for the intemperate, there was a wide belief in the efficacy of copious doses of brandy.(5) The majority of the population took their doctors' advice and listened to their ministers, but the classes among whom the disease first appeared were peculiarly

terrified and at the mercy of wild rumour. Already rendered suspicious of the "resurrectionist" practices of the period, they became apprehensive of quarantine and enforced removal to hospital. They resented the rapid and undignified burial of their dead for they were accustomed to regard elaborate and often expensive obsequies as a mark of respect. There were rumours that the cholera victims were destined for the dissection tables and that Catholics were being buried in Protestant cemeteries. Mobs began to obstruct the preventive and control measures in the poorest quarters; led by the "beldames of the Grassmarket and the Goosedubs" they demonstrated against the doctors, they prevented removals to hospital or mortuary, and broke the window panes of those they disliked as the interfering busybodies of the Board of Health. Occasionally the tension showed itself in crazy and macabre acts of defiance: there were those who publicly proclaimed their intention of sleeping in infected surroundings to prove their immunity, but they might not live to be surprised at the result of the test.(6)

This epidemic certainly required to be met by a more formal organisation than that which tried to cope with the fever. Advised by army doctors who had seen cholera in the East, the Government issued a first proclamation in June 1831 calling for strict observance of quarantine regulations and setting up a temporary central Board of Health. In October, the Board, acting through the Privy Council, issued a series

of rules in the tradition of the plague codes of the 17th century; they also recommended the establishment of voluntary local boards who were to divide their towns into districts for sanitary supervision, to control intercourse with infected places and to report progress to the Central Board in London. Then on the last day of October the disease actually appeared in Sunderland. In November, further Orders in Council gave the Central Board power to create local boards in infected places who were to follow the regulations prescribed. Doctors were to send into them a daily report of cholera cases under penalty and magistrates were to enforce obedience to the Orders and Regulations. Another order of the same time gave power to the local boards to remove nuisances but this was subsequently limited by another Order issued in January. By the time the cholera reached Edinburgh and Glasgow these various orders were under criticism as unworkable or ineffective or unrelated to local circumstances and it was pointed out with some bitterness that it was not until the cholera reached London that parliament was galvanised into activity and passed definite Cholera Acts for both England and Scotland during the spring of 1832.

The local situation and its difficulties under these Orders can be illustrated from the experience of the small town of Haddington. A letter of protest was despatched to the Central Board on 21st January just after the actual appearance of the plague in the place. The writer was one of the town

magistrates with a vigorous legal mind that dealt severely with the muddle of the various Orders. The Order of 20th October had laid down Regulations, but they had never been enforced for it was believed that they could not be acted on; magistrates were to prevent intercourse with infected places but no indication was given as to how this might be done; medical men were to send in a daily report under penalties but no specific penalties were discoverable and most medical men were aware that they incurred no risk by failing to report. The November Order for the Removal of Nuisances declared it lawful for two Justices in places where Boards of Health had been established to issue orders for abatement or removal on the certificate of a Medical Practitioner, being a member of the Board and supported by the oath of one credible witness. But with its references to Overseers and Guardians the Order assumed an English machinery of local administration and it could have effect only where the Privy Council had already constituted a Board of Health, that is, in an area where cholera had already appeared. The compulsory removal of nuisances had in effect to wait for the appearance of the disease. Further, the supplementary Order of 4th January 1832 indicated that these powers of compulsory removal of nuisances were not to be exercised except in cases of great emergency and without an express authority from the Privy Council. "So here," complained the writer of the protest, "after the disease may have prevailed for some time and a Board of Health has been appointed by the Council, we are to

suffer a delay of five days before permission can be obtained to carry into effect the regulations of the Order of 21 November". In this situation, the magistrates of Haddington had simply assumed the necessary powers and proceeded to clean up the town.(8)

With the appearance of the cholera, the difficulties of this local board increased. The Privy Council had constituted it with only two medical members and these were often away engaged in general practice. Its duties and powers were vague and unsupported. It was supposed to organise hospitals and provide medicines and other relief for the sick but it was still dependent on voluntary contributions. It might assist outlying parishes where there were few or no resident physicians but it had no funds to pay for medical services in such cases and its activities beyond the range of the personal influence of its members might be resented as an attempt at "dictation" on the part of the county town, as an occasion of expense to reluctant heritors in rural parishes or as interference with the independence and privacy of a conservative rural population. All that the Haddington Board could afford the countryside was advice, but it was surely reasonable to develop a central base of supplies and services and some scheme of assistance to rural parishes; and if the disease were to continue, the Board's activities both in town and country could be continued only by the help of an assessment for sanitary purposes, and this had to wait on an empowering act of parliament.(9)

(iii)

The full development of an anti-cholera organisation in a large city can be studied best in Edinburgh. Here was assembled a relatively numerous depressed and migrant population living in overcrowded conditions and enlarged by the continuing depression after 1826; but the city had also a great medical school and an influential professional element which could give its services in the cause of systematic prevention and control. In anticipation, the College of Physicians first appointed a committee in August 1831 to keep in touch with the Central Board in London. By the end of October a voluntary Board had been formed by 14 doctors meeting with the magistrates and law officials, the city clergy and the managers of the Infirmary, among whom was the Lord President of the Session. This Board met once a week until the end of January; then with the arrival of the epidemic it formed a standing committee of eight which met daily. Its activities illustrate its limited powers, its indefinite status and its dependence on voluntary support but despite legal obstacles, financial weakness and popular prejudice it showed administrative capacity and the beginnings of a systematic policy.

Attention was given first to preventive measures. The Board co-operated with the police in urging the cleansing of private cellars and houses as well as the public streets and squares, but a proposed survey of necessitous families to be made by district medical officers met with some opposition.

It was a duty that some of the police considered beyond the expectation of their appointment and "except in some instances, the Board were unable to procure sufficiently regular returns".(2) A drive against the prevalent local nuisances also met with but limited success. The "lower Irish" were accustomed to keep pigs in or near their dwelling houses and to sell manure as well as meat. This practice was untouchable by police action or common law and its control by the new police act then in preparation was a matter of time. In the circumstances the law authorities exhorted the magistrates not to weigh too nicely the amount of their powers; the police acted, and the "dwelling-house pigs" were ejected. Outside the actual city limits the justices harried the owners of pig-sties in the suburbs and the police threatened them with the confiscation of the household offal which they bought from the city as pigs' feed; but the practice survived these peculiar official activities.(3) The exposure of dung was attacked by a strict interpretation of the law. An indefinite accumulation had been allowed in stable lanes; as places of public access these had now to be cleaned up every week and if they led also to human dwellings removal was required every second day on pain of confiscation. But the nuisances of the tan-yards and the manure pits in the West Port and the Irrigated Meadows on the east side of the city were seemingly beyond interference.(4)

As the cholera was associated with under-nourishment and destitution, a system of soup-kitchens was started; blank-

ets, flannels, stockings and boots were issued to the needy and the Board emphasised the fact that "Experience has shown that the most essential precaution for escaping the disease is sobriety".(5) For the handling of its victims, an Association was formed of the doctors of the city, assisted by numerous retired military and naval surgeons and the senior medical students. Medical service was arranged for each of thirty districts in the town and a flying squadron was formed as a reserve. Supply houses were established where apothecaries could be found night and day and hospital accommodation was planned on what was supposed to be a reasonable scale. These hospitals were not popular with their neighbours; convinced of the risk of aerial infection, some residents threatened to leave their houses on the arrival of the first patient and to hold the Board responsible for their rents.(6)

With the approach of the plague, limited measures of quarantine were taken. Visitors arriving from the south were scrutinised and sometimes induced to undergo isolation for a few days outside the city; the movement of vagrants was stopped by a strict enforcement of ordinary police rules; the danger of contact with infected villages was emphasised. But any elaborate quarantine was impracticable in the absence of an adequate military and constabulary force; it was contrary to "the habits of civil obedience and good conduct of the populace"; citizens wished to visit their country relatives, and pedlars and rural workers who lived in town could not be deprived of their liveli-

hood.[7] But with the appearance of sporadic cases of disease, the Board of Health insisted on early notification and removal, on the isolation of those in contact in temporary hospitals under police charge for eight or ten days, and on the fumigation of the empty dwellings and the destruction of infected clothing. The legal authority for these measures was doubtful and they were certainly unpopular. Christison, the Professor of Medical Jurisprudence at Edinburgh and an active member of the Board, thought it would be unsafe to persevere "should we find it impossible to go on by means of persuasion, gentle bribery and a mere show of compulsion", and in any case these measures of control would become ineffectual if the disease became general. Meanwhile the duty of collecting information was recognised by the issue of elaborate schedules to the doctors of the city, and the progress of the disease was plotted on a large scale map for further analysis.[8]

These activities implied a considerable expenditure which was met by voluntary subscriptions and the proceeds of special collections in the churches. With the appearance of the cholera in Haddington in January, a regular assessment was proposed but the Government refused its assent; the voluntary subscription was continued, but the amount was now expected to be proportionate to an individual's police assessment. By the middle of February, the soup kitchen service was costing £250 a week and clothing and boots had been supplied to 12,000 people; yet the disease was now spreading and the need of

hospital accommodation and medical supplies and services more urgent than was anticipated.(9) With the passage of the Cholera Acts a limited assessment was authorised for specific purposes in connection with the disease -- for the relief of those actually suffering and the safe and speedy interment of the dead; but the Edinburgh policy had been to regard the epidemic as a social as well as a medical problem and those concerned had aimed at prevention by building up a more general resistance on the part of the more exposed and destitute classes. By the beginning of April the subscription funds were exhausted; the Board proceeded to borrow money in anticipation of its powers under the new Act; a month later the Board had to request the Magistrates to authorise an assessment of £4,000 which could legally be expended only for specific purposes and particularly for cholera hospitals. The expenses of the soup-kitchens and the issue of clothing had still to be met by private charity and as the epidemic spread during the summer, the hospital expenses also rose above the limit of assessment and had to be partially met by an appeal for continued voluntary aid. The public conscience, however, became less responsive and the nat- of the epidemic made it very difficult to prepare for its sudden and unexpected extensions and revivals. In all, there were nearly 2,000 cases in Edinburgh out of a population of 136,000 and over half of these were fatal.(10)

This story of sanguine preparations, rising expenses and the break-down of emergency measures which were either of

doubtful legality or of limited scope can be studied further in the case of Glasgow where there were 6,000 cases of cholera, half of them of a fatal nature and where the medical organisation of the city could not cope with a capricious epidemic which at first confined itself to the congested areas and then suddenly spread, rising to a maximum infection of over 800 cases in one week of early August; (11) or in the experience of the smaller towns like Musselburgh and Dumfries and those districts where rural factories or mining and fishing villages presented peculiar problems of hygiene. What was difficult for Edinburgh to achieve with all its advantages was likely to be impossible anywhere else. But in Edinburgh Professor Christison was convinced of the possibility of a comprehensive policy. He was aware of the basic need of administration. He raged at the inertia of the London authorities who, "originally instituted to advise and aid local Boards....had scarcely been of any practical use to the Board of this city (Edinburgh) in any one department of its labours". (12) On the only occasion when the Edinburgh committee had expressly appealed for assistance, it had appeared to manifest an apathy which could be explained only by its ignorance of and indifference to the local situation in the North before the epidemic reached London. Christison wanted a national health organisation covering eight definite areas each with its central station where professional supplies and services could be concentrated. While the parish Boards of Health would be necessarily staffed by country gentle-

men as heritors, the district boards would include magistrates, ministers and doctors and speak with professional authority. They were to have effective powers in their respective areas to remove nuisances, to limit the movement of vagrants, to give help in kind, to choose sites for hospitals, to isolate and disinfect, to collect statistics and conduct investigations. The London Board was too remote in an emergency, and in fact the local Scottish boards had begun the practice of referring to the Edinburgh Board for advice. This institution could naturally grow into a national clearing house, directing a reserve of medical help as the localities required it. Further, this national organisation deserved to have the support of a national grant as well as that of the local assessments. This innovation was called for by the plain dictates of humanity and public duty; it was both equitable and economical, for surely it was better that the loss and suffering should fall lightly on many rather than heavily on a few and usually those least able to bear it? If general preventive measures were taken such as only government could command, the total loss of life would be less than if the infected localities were left to struggle against the disease in unassisted poverty. (13)

This comprehensive view anticipates an organisation that could easily become a permanent Sanitary Committee and then a Department of Health at Edinburgh with authority over Scotland as a national unit, with central, intermediate and local agencies and definite powers and financial backing. But the first

cholera epidemic called forth only the temporary Cholera Acts, limited in scope and time. The poverty which encouraged or followed the pestilence was not officially recognised; there was much legal confusion, and when the emergency passed, a general disposition to let the whole organisation lapse. The causes and treatment of cholera remained a matter of dispute, and the disease might recur, but in the years of prosperity and political hope after 1832, public opinion quickly recovered from the shock. Professional memory was more retentive. Some sanitary regulation had been attempted on a large scale; some legal obstacles to effective action had been at least disclosed and an emergency right to coerce, confiscate and tax had been asserted in the public interest. Yet there was little serious attempt to apply the lessons of 1832 to the control of the other epidemic diseases and when in 1837 economic depression returned and "fever" became once more virulent, the measures of prevention and alleviation in Edinburgh and Glasgow had to be built up again amid the same confusion of defective legal powers and effective legal prohibitions.

3.

POVERTY AND POOR RELIEF.

(i)

One of the most disturbing signs of the economic and social change in early 19th century Scotland was the appearance of an extensive and conspicuous want, and the Calvinist tradition of the country, with its strong views as to the cause and cure of poverty, had to meet this challenge. The type as much as the volume of poverty was in question. There were ample evidences of the accumulation of a peculiarly crushing destitution in the expanding towns. These were the manifold consequences of the epidemics, and a need of relief (or its substitute) for the skilled who were permanently tied to a depressed trade or for the semi-skilled who were thrown out of work by a turn of the irregular economic spiral. Even in the country districts, the problem presented new aspects. The failure of a rural factory left its deposit of unemployed; the increased mobility of labour was reflected in new types of migrants in search of work, and the gangs employed in the construction of road, canal or railway were not at all immune from sickness, accident and other incapacities.

These developments had to be squared with the accepted tradition and law of relief. In detail, its provision was essentially a local affair with the parish or the burgh as the unit of management. In the burghs, public assistance,

like education, was the direct concern of the magistrates, but burghal relief can be regarded as a special case within a general arrangement. Its practice ran on lines similar to those of the parishes; the local authorities everywhere shared a common view as to aims and methods, and the problems presented by the newer forms of poverty were to be met in industrialised rural areas as well as in urban centres. A general description of the agencies and provisions of relief is therefore in order and this can be followed by a more detailed consideration of the urban situation as the focus of social pressure and change.

The administration of relief in Scotland rested on parliamentary acts and privy council proclamations. As in the case of the educational establishment, these can be associated historically with the periods of Presbyterian enthusiasm following the crises of the Reformation and the Revolutions of 1638 and 1689. The influence of another tradition was apparent after 1603 and 1660, but the Anglo-Scottish innovations of these periods, if not completely eliminated, were at least recessive in character. The Scots Poor Law was essentially connected with the Presbyterian establishment and its social views. During the 18th century, there were no new enactments, and as an effective directing organ had never developed out of either the Scots Privy Council or the General Assembly of the Kirk, poor law administration had gradually become an affair of parish and burghal use and wont, checked only by appeals to the

law courts on points of disputed definition and practice.

This administrative localism has to be related to the increasing prosperity of the country. The opportunities provided by an expanding economy were made effective by the training provided by home and church, parochial school and apprenticeship. These agencies were essentially educational; they prepared for the business of living by inculcating a common code of individual responsibility and initiative and for a society that was accustomed to export its surplus of young men, the general tools of a fairly liberal education might be of more value than a specific training. In these circumstances, success or failure seemed to issue directly out of character and the individual was master of his fate. The poor thus came to be regarded as an exceptional residue. They might be "deserving", the victims of abnormal misfortune. These the local authorities could assist by supplementing the help given by other more responsible and intimate agencies such as the family, the neighbourhood and the church.(2) Or the poor were "undeserving", -- vagrants and ne'er-do-weels who were dangerous and treated as objects of reprobation and police control. There might be some recognised migrants such as the gypsies or the tinkers or the drovers with whom an 18th century parish established some kind of give and take, but the individual villagers of either sex who fell into idle and dissolute ways or who begged and cadged were given much advice and little else. Their condition was their own fault. In the case of the deserving poor,

public assistance might have to be accepted even if it were regarded as a personal and a family humiliation; in the case of the undeserving, it would only demoralise those who needed the discipline of work, for their own as well as their neighbours' good.③

In the early 19th century these inherited attitudes became less and less related to the facts of poverty. However it might be with economic rewards, economic punishment seemed increasingly unrelated to character or industry. Both in town and country the righteous was forsaken and his seed might be seen begging their bread, while in the largest cities, the increasing population of the feckless, the drunken and the vicious so defied coercion and reclamation as to become a social menace. The intellectual analyses and the practical measures which these contrasts called forth developed into a controversy on the principles of relief and social reclamation that touched many and intimate aspects of Scottish life. Here, as in the related discussions as to education, the issues were so fundamental that the arguments take on a peculiar intensity of criticism and defence and one of the difficulties in interpreting the movement of opinion on these matters is to realise the intellectual dilemmas and the emotional resistance involved.④

(ii)

The legal arrangements for relief can be quickly explained. In the parishes, the right to a public assistance

was recognised only in the case of the impotent and infirm -- the aged, the orphan, the "fatuous" -- all who were permanently incapable of supporting themselves. These were the "ordinary" poor, their names enrolled on the poor's roll after investigation into their case by the kirk session. The aid so given was in theory supplementary to family obligation or private charity or anything that the recipient might still be occasionally able to earn, and this was held to justify the very low rates of a few shillings that were customarily paid each week. But there were supplementary services offered to the recognised poor; the doctor attended them and their families, the schoolmaster educated them free. In remote and old-fashioned parishes they might get little more than a license to beg, but this was often regarded as a guarantee of personal worth and the "bedesman" travelled a regular round of mansion, farm and cottage where he earned his welcome by his gifts of entertainment and gossip and at least part of his keep by doing odd jobs. In these circumstances the recipient of relief might receive little but he remained a person and any public assistance was given as out-of-door relief; there were no poor's houses outside the very largest towns. The aim was to keep the poor supported by or at least in touch with their family and neighbourhood, and however meagre the public contribution might be, they were not institutionalised, as in England. The few "hospitals", alms-houses and refuges that existed were meant for those exceptional persons who "by reason of their friend-

lessness, disease or excessive helplessness could not properly be attended to in their houses nor be received as boarders in the locality". Neither was the law of settlement a stumbling block. The conventional period of "common resort" or residence was three years; there was no power of removal on the ground that a person was liable to become a charge on the parish and in some cases of dispute, the common-sense solution was accepted which permitted a recipient to live outside the parish of obligation either with his relations or on the chance of still earning something, situations which naturally rendered his support less expensive.

The legal right of the impotent to receive relief was admitted even if no guidance was given as to the adequacy of the amount. The other classes of poor were not so adequately recognised. The "occasional" poor were those in temporary distress because of sickness or accident. They had seemingly no legal claim, but by convention one half of the church-door collections was for their benefit, and in considering their claims moral factors were given weight. A third class, the "able-bodied" poor, deserving or not, were unrecognised in law. Except in some acts and proclamations of the Restoration period which show English influence, there was little suggestion in Scots law or practice of any legal obligation to furnish work or maintenance to this class, and at the opening of the 19th century, the contemporary English development of an indiscriminate relief seemed to offer convincing proof of both the de-

moralising effect and the crushing expense of a dole. The able-bodied who were destitute were still held to be exceptional cases; their condition was due to personal factors. If deserving, they might be the recipients of private help, and in the case of an 18th century emergency such as a local famine, a voluntary organisation would act for their relief under the patronage of the local authorities. These might also give a contribution from the free fund of the Common Good or the sessional fund (but ex gratia) to buy grain and retail it at reasonable prices. But the able-bodied had no legal right to assistance until they ceased to be so, and after 1815 the typical 19th century emergency was industrial unemployment due to increasingly complex causes.(2)

The management of relief was organised on a parochial basis; in the towns, the magistrates, and in the countryside, the heritors co-operated with the kirk-session. In the rural parishes the kirk-session was the more active party. It was made up of the minister and his elders who were concerned with morality and discipline as well as the relief of poverty. These parish powers could therefore have a detailed personal knowledge of the character and condition of applicants for alms, and administered as part of their duty spiritual comfort or reproof. This might become an occasion for tactlessness and petty tyranny; on the other hand, an intelligent and sympathetic elder knew the poor as persons rather than as cases. Where the legally recognised claims for relief exceeded the church and

other funds, the heritors of the parish would be called on to make up the deficiency by free-will offerings. In certain situations, which were becoming more frequent, these also were insufficient and the free-will offerings changed into pro rata contributions and finally an assessment had to be levied. In rural parishes this fell on valued or real rents; the heritors paid half of the amount directly and half was passed on to their tenants. In the burghs, the levy was made by the magistrates and paid by all the inhabitants of estimated means or substance. But in parishes and burghs alike the actual management of the proceeds usually rested still with the kirk-session. Co-operation between secular and spiritual was usually easy. Influential heritors, their agents and their tenants were made elders as local leaders and persons of responsibility; all heritors might attend the joint meeting which discussed the grant of poor relief and any one heritor might challenge their proceedings and threaten to make the members personally responsible for their decisions in a court of law. But use and wont permitted the proceedings to pass off "with the greatest regularity and economy"; heritors and session shared common attitudes and interests and it was only towards the end of the period under review that some of the ministers were to complain that the heritors were not giving what was expected of them in matters of relief as well as education.

The income devoted to parochial relief came from varied sources, but mainly from the church collections. These

were supplemented by bequests, by customary fees paid at baptisms, marriages and funerals and by the offerings of the heritors and the charitable. Dissenting, Episcopalian and Catholic congregations were expected to look after their own occasional poor, but the legal obligation was admitted no matter what might be the religious affiliation of the applicant. Legal assessment was regarded as a device of last resort and so repulsive and unnecessary that up to 1700 it had been accepted in only three out of 700 parishes. But the strain on the Scottish system can be gauged by its extension. Between 1700 and 1800, 93 parishes adopted it; in 1818, the number was 145, in 1839, 236 out of 900 parishes. A third of these lay near the Eastern border and had been infected by English example; others were in the densely-peopled Central Lowlands now experiencing the difficulties of large-scale poverty.(6) The North East and the Highlands were conspicuously free of the innovation and in these areas especially, its rejection was passionately argued from more than motives of personal interest. Assessment was held to mean the end of the independence and integrity of the poor and its introduction opened the door to a flood of evils. Under its malign influence, personal relationships deteriorated; the springs of private charity dried up; the rich gave only what they had to; the poor began to claim relief as their due and the shame of applying for it was effaced.(7) In 1819, the Sub-Committee of the General Assembly gave it as their conviction "not only that the practice of legal and compulsory

assessments for the support of the poor is radically unwise and dangerous but also that the crisis has already arrived when Scotland should in every quarter take the alarm and form precautions against the further spread...of so baneful a national calamity..." The "voluntary system" was as strongly defended. "The power of the heritors and kirk session to adjust the roll of paupers...and modify the rate of relief given is perhaps as salutary and effectual a protection from abuse as human sagacity could devise, and the influence of the arrangement has unquestionably been most beneficial. It has prevented the burthen of assessments from becoming in any case entirely intolerable. In other cases it has kept it comparatively light".

Whatever relevance these views may have had to the actual need of poor relief in the urban centres or the distressed Highlands, they help to explain the very low costs and benefits of Scottish public assistance. For the last years of the war and the transition to peace (1807-1816) the average number in receipt of various kinds of official relief was 44,199 or 2½% of a population of 1¾ million; the costs of this came to 1/3 a head, and of the total of £114,195, less than half (£49,718) came from assessment. Twenty years later these proportions had changed but little. At this later date (1835-1837), the recipients of relief seemed to have risen to 3.4% of a population of 2,300,000, but the increase to a total of 155,120 was at least partially explicable by the inclusion of the dependents of the permanent poor in the enumeration. The

contribution per head of the population had now risen to 1/4. The Scottish system thus continued generally limited in scope and economical in its expenditures.(9) It stood in sharp contrast to the English system with its special poor law agents, its burden of assessment, its demoralising doles to the able-bodied and occasional poor and its provision of institutional relief. A certain complacency was apparent among the northern ministers and lairds at the success of those austere and economical social principles which it was hoped the English poor law reformers might accept. Yet in 1840, after the reform of the English system had been established, the contrast was still apparent. England had then a population of 15½ million, Scotland 2½. The law relieved 7¾% of the population of the larger country as against 3 1/4% in the smaller. This represented in the one case an expenditure of £4,570,000 and £115,121 in the other. These contributions worked out as 5/10½ from each Englishman and still 1/3 from the individual Scot.(10)

(iii)

In the theory and practice of Scots poor law, public relief was "a bond of provision in case of the failure of other resources" and these latter included the agencies of "moral economy" whose business it was to prepare and prevent as well as the secular advantages of a wide range of opportunity. It was assumed that family obligations would be fulfilled; that

the industrious would be able to save against sickness and old age; that the meagre monetary grants would be supplemented by services and private help; that the treatment of the poor would recognise them as persons, and that their circumstances would be known to those whom they trusted as their spiritual guides; that they would continue to live with their relatives or in the neighbourhood where they were known. The years of war prosperity seemed to give these assumptions a new vitality, and in this time of high wages the circle of moral agencies was completed by the growth of popular Savings institutions, encouraged by the clergy. Thrift was emphatically a virtue. Bible Societies were advocated because of their temporal as well as their spiritual blessings. Friendly Societies were numerous and growing safer.(1) At the height of the war prosperity, Dr. Duncan of Ruthwell launched the first parish bank with the avowed aim of warding off the evil of a legal assessment.(2) It was an intelligent and effective invention. By an ingenious arrangement small sums could be deposited under conditions that were convenient, safe and profitable. It appealed to those small workers who could not hope to reach the minimum deposit required by the local or the branch banks; they had to keep their savings with them in mattress or stocking or run the risk of petty swindling, yet they were of sufficient intelligence to appreciate what could be done with their money. Dr. Duncan was careful to associate his subscribers with the responsible management of the concern. He looked forward to a nation-wide system of popular

banks with district institutions and a central bank in Edinburgh and his enthusiasm led to their establishment in the large towns and in many localities. They were better managed and so led a more continuous existence than the Friendly Societies and they were of assistance to the skilled artisans who earned relatively high and steady wages and to such women workers as domestic servants who were trained to thrift and who had a direct objective in saving for marriage.(3)

But after 1815 there was an increasing number of those who, however virtuous they were, could not support themselves for the duration of their lives. In the areas of high farming, the hinds began to complain that it was difficult for them to bring up a large family and to save for old age. Many women in the country could not maintain themselves; there was now little spinning, knitting and tambouring gave a precarious income and the wage levels in other feminine occupations were low. There were few localities that had not a quota of decayed craftsmen and particularly those plain weavers who worked themselves and their families for a pittance and in conditions that invited fever and phthisis. There was an increasing number of wives whose husbands had left them to look for work and who were responsible for a young family. Yet the parochial apparatus of relief remained unchanged and legally active only in the case of the impotent. The children of a deserted family might be helped but not the mother; the weaver might be given "occasional relief" when temporarily sick, but nothing

could be done by law to avert sickness. The aged might be given a pittance to supplement the efforts of their family when the family had scattered. All this increasing volume of need outside the legal system could only be treated by private enterprise. But even in this sphere the clergy saw evidences of a moral decay. The church collections dwindled; landlords were absentee or unsympathetic to claims that had no term but a legal assessment. In some cases "presented" ministers were so unpopular that the dissenting congregations grew and the poor's fund suffered. There was a decline of old-fashioned independence among the working classes; the idea was abroad that it was the duty of the rich or of the state to support the poor. For this some blamed the Militia Act which had made provision for the support of the wives and families of those ballotted for service in the recent war. Others marked the spread of "artificial wants", such as tea and spirits, which made many spendthrift and then destitute. The confusion of moral categories and economic factors continued to cloud the analysis.④

The pressure of these new problems was heaviest in the towns. These had to deal with the migratory rural poor as well as their own. Here were numerous "impotent"; the permanently undeserving who begged, thieved and tippled; the occasional sick and helpless, the ageing who could not meet the demands of industry and agriculture, orphans or other deserted children; the able-bodied, temporarily out of work because of strikes or depressions and without an adequate reserve for them-

selves and their families. In the specific case of the organisation of legal relief for the impotent, the experience of Edinburgh can be cited as illustrative.

The problems of mass poverty first displayed themselves in the capital in the mid 18th century; there was then a reorganisation of the means of relief. As early as 1740 the Magistrates and Kirk Session of the Royalty had agreed to vest the management of the poor in a special committee of over 100 members who represented the Town Council, the 14 parish churches, the Episcopal churches and other public bodies. This committee had a general treasurer; it elected an annual sub-committee to deal with the detail of poor relief, and a general Poor's House was built.(5) This exceptional arrangement was economical; it unified the local parochial systems and was supported by the church collections, by bequests, and by a low assessment of 2%. The adverse conditions setting in after 1810 were reflected in rising expenses and an increased rate. In 1813 the assessment was fixed at 5%, at which figure it remained for several years, and was then hopefully reduced to 3½%. In 1826, the depressed condition of the city meant a rise to 4%, in 1829 to 5% and in 1831 to 6%.(6) In the adjacent urbanised parishes of the Canongate and St. Cuthbert's, the parochial system was retained. The Canongate built a Poor's House as early as 1765 but it was not until the significant date of 1812 that an assessment was imposed and the pressure of poverty in this congested area can be seen in its rapid rise. For the four years after 1812 it remained at

6d in the £; by 1819 it was 1/-, by 1832 it had reached 1/6.(7)

The development of the relieving organisation in St. Cuthbert's merits more attention. The western expansion of the city made the parish one of the richest in Scotland but it included some areas of poverty in its bounds, and it attracted a considerable immigrant population, so that only a small proportion of its paupers were natives of the parish. It built a Poor's House in 1761 and began to support it by a low assessment in 1769.(8) With wealth, benevolence and voluntary service at its command, the Kirk Session of two ministers and 45 elders continued to direct the poor relief of the parish up to 1832. It then had a population of 70,000 and a poor's fund of over £10,000 a year, but the assessment had risen to 5% on a rental of over £200,000, half of which was paid by above 4,000 heritors and the other half by some 16,000 occupiers or tenants. The reorganisation carried through in 1833 still shows the outline of a simple quasi-voluntary scheme trying to cope with urban conditions. To correct abuses and "to effect a large, and it is hoped, a permanent reduction in the assessment", the Session gave over its task of relief to a Board of Management of 120 heritors chosen by localities out of the 4,000 heritors of the parish.(9) These met quarterly and subdivided into six boards of 20 members meeting monthly. Each of these boards undertook to superintend voluntarily the outdoor relief of a specific area with an average population of 12,000. There were also special committees for the management of the workhouse, for out-pension-

ers, for education, for assessment, for finance generally, and for legal affairs. This system aimed at the utmost economy in collection and expenditure and a system of public accounting was introduced. But an organisation of such scope and complexity was bound to need specialist agents and the scheme envisaged the appointment of a Surveyor of assessment, a Collector, a Master of the Workhouse, a Clerk to the Board of Managers and an Inspector of the Poor to investigate difficult cases and to "take over" whenever the machinery of voluntary action failed to function. (10)

In the other large cities, the same line of development was followed. The need for assessment became evident and brought with it a more elaborate and "business" administration. Eventually the volume of relief required the creation of special institutions like the Poor's House and the appointment of specialist agents. In Glasgow, Chalmers found all the ten city parishes centrally assessed and managed, and the device of a "tax on rentals" had subsequently been adopted in the urbanised parishes of the Barony and the Gorbals. (11) Dundee adopted an assessment in 1810, but in Aberdeen, public opinion long resisted it as unnecessary and demoralising. In 1818 the town was forced to supplement its poor's funds by an organised voluntary contribution. By 1836, this was recognised as a failure and an equitable self-imposed assessment on heritors and tenants was accepted by a head-court of the inhabitants. Two years later, the magistrates were driven to enforce this agreement by legal action, and the arrange-

ment became a compulsory assessment in all but name.

In 1839 all but one of the 19 parishes in Scotland with more than 10,000 inhabitants were assessed. The exception was the weaving and Radical stronghold of Dunfermline with a population of over 17,000.

(iv)

With the increased burden of relief came a more precise definition of public obligation.

The occasional poor and the unemployed had no legal claim to assistance; yet their numbers outstripped the provision given by public grace or private charity and their misery had often no obvious connection with their moral history. Attempts were made to meet the urgency of their situation by stretching the letter of the law, but these were defeated both by public opinion and the attitude of strict interpretation adopted by the Court of Session. There was indeed a limited tradition of associated municipal and private action in the face of local famine, an action expressive both of benevolence and a desire to avert the danger and damage of "meal mobs". The development of this practice was arrested in 1799 and 1800. Two successive crop failures occasioned a dangerous scarcity and a rise in prices. In Glasgow, the magistrates associated themselves with private benevolence and subscribed to purchase meal to be resold or given away. With the return of plenty, the enterprise was wound up, leaving a deficit of £15,000, of which about half had

come from municipal funds. The Town Council proposed to assess the inhabitants to meet this, but the bill necessary to legalise the innovation had to be dropped in the face of strong opposition.

A significant legal decision resulted from the same years of scarcity. The heritors and kirk-session of Duns, a parish near the English border where a poor's rate had been established for almost a century, met the dearth by an assessment for the temporary relief of the "industrious poor". The legality of their action was queried and the case reached the Court of Session as Pollock v. Darling (1804) in which the agent of the parish authorities sued for non-payment. The prosecution relied on the implications of some earlier statutes and emphasised the argument from consequences -- "otherwise the misery of the labouring classes will run to such a height that what has been refused in charity will be taken by force and the voice of the law being drowned, the clamours of nature, anarchy and insurrection will universally prevail". This sociological vision which suggested anything from a local meal riot to something like the French Revolution was met by a strict interpretation of the law: "the poor who have a legal claim to support...are such persons only as are unfit to work for themselves by reason of personal inability..."; in so far as they could work their labour was at the disposal of the parish, and if the contribution of the parish were inadequate they could be licensed to beg. The industrious poor were not impotent; they retained the right to sell their labour; they refused to beg and their condition was due

to a temporary emergency which the law left to private action. The Court of Session sustained the action of the local authorities, but by a single vote and on the technical issue of asserting the parish as the competent authority to levy an assessment. The decision was much debated.[3] It was generally interpreted as giving little support to any subsequent appeal by the industrious poor themselves against a local authority which refused to help them, and Lord President Campbell's dictum was much quoted:

> "The present system of our Poor Laws does not include what are called the industrious poor any more than the case of widows who are scrimply provided or the children of gentlemen unprovided. These are not in a state of total inability, although they may be and often are in a very pinched situation for which the proper relief is the benevolent attention of their friends and fellow-citizens, which has never been deficient but often exerted in a very eminent degree upon necessary occasions".

The decision in Pollock v. Darling therefore remained inert for nearly a half-century.[4]

The position of the industrious poor was raised again in 1819. During a period of exceptional distress a petition was presented to the heritors and kirk-session of the Abbey Parish, Paisley, by over 800 able-bodied unemployed, who claimed relief. The parish authorities refused the request as they considered that the applicants were not within the class of legal poor. The petitioners then applied to the sheriff of Renfrewshire "to ordain the heritors and kirk-session to allow what was needful for the sustentation of such...as upon due inquiry shall be found to have an insufficiency to support them". The sheriff asserted

his competence as a court of review and ordained the heritors and kirk-session to meet and assess themselves for the relief of the petitioners. The Court of Session then considered the case by advocation and assoilzied the parish. Their decision in The Abbey Parish v. Richmond (1821) asserted the power of the local authorities to determine both the recipients of poor relief and the amount of the allowance; the general power which sheriffs could exercise was limited to enforcing the law relating to the poor; it did not include any power to review the actual decisions of the local authorities. In the case of the Abbey Parish, a complaint to the sheriff might have been competent to oblige the parish authorities to consider the petition of the industrious poor; but the petition had been considered and rejected. There was no opening for the intervention of the sheriff and the action of the parish authorities was beyond review except by the supreme civil court.

This decision left the parish practically autonomous in the sphere of poor relief. Its administration was directed by those who might have and usually did have decided views as to its limited necessity and deleterious effects, and an interest in keeping the burden of its costs to a minumum. There was no recognition of relief except for the impotent; no appeal to any intermediate authority below the Session. The unemployed had to fall sick before they could obtain help as occasional poor and then only by grace. The impotent did have a legal claim, but the amount of assistance given them by their

parish was for all practical purposes beyond review. There was no explicit definition of the "needful sustentation" which the Act of 1579 required for the legal poor. It was generally held that the right of review located in the Court of Session could compel the parish authorities to consider an application for relief and to grant it, but that it could not touch the actual quantum awarded. This might (theoretically) be reduced to the marginal amount that just kept body and soul together, and it was not until well into the depressed Forties that the Session gave a liberal interpretation on this point. In the decisions in Pryde v. The Parish of Ceres (1843) and in Halliday v. The Parish of Balmaclellan (1844) it was laid down that not only were body and soul to be kept together but the health of the recipient of poor relief must not be allowed to suffer -- a decision which surprised the local authorities as an innovation upon established practice and which exposed them to expenses that would have to cover the costs of aliment, lodging, clothing and fuel for their pauper charges.(6)

In the case of one group of impotent, the attempt was made to evade the obligation altogether. The kirk-session of the Barony Parish of Glasgow refused assistance to an aged Irishman named Higgins on the grounds of his birth, and supported its refusal before the Court of Session by claims which questioned even the right of the Supreme Court to take cognizance of its action. In this case it was argued that the power vested in the parish authorities by Acts of Parliament was of the nature

of a power of taxation and not a jurisdiction as a court; their proceedings could not then be reviewed by a court of law unless specially provided for by the statutes. The compulsory provision for the poor, being founded on statute alone and authorising the levying of a tax, could not be extended to any object not included in the statutes and it was evident from their tenor that they were intended to provide for natives only. If sustained, this position would have been of considerable importance as likely to arrest, to some extent at least, the influx of Irish immigrants, and there was indeed a considerable number of Irish already settled in the Barony Parish. In their decision in the case of Higgins v. The Barony (1824) the Court of Session rejected the argument and its consequences. It was their unanimous opinion that whether the parish authorities were to be considered a Court or a Parliamentary Board they were subject to the control of the Supreme Court and that definitely, the settlement of paupers was defined by acts of parliament as depending on residence not birth. The local authorities had therefore no discretion but to relieve Higgins, who, although Irish by birth, had lived by his own efforts in the parish for 17 years and was now aged and infirm. In effect, if objection were taken to the Irish as Irish or as paupers they would have to be discouraged in some other way.

4.

THE CHRISTIAN AND CIVIC ECONOMY.

(i)

The limited development of direct legal assistance in Scotland was historically associated with a traditional faith in the agencies that prevented poverty rather than relieved it. In a small-scale society with its personal relationships still vital, the agencies of prevention were directly concerned with the primary activities and interests of the family, the neighbourhood and the parish. Their responsible agents were the parents, the minister and his elders, and the schoolmaster. They had public recognition and support in so far as church and school were by law established, and in the course of the 18th century, they spread out into a number of voluntary associations directed towards specific ends but linked to family and neighbourhood, church and school. Altogether these various institutions were imbued with common values and assumptions and they formed a pattern for the "moral economy" of the parish. They were of particular interest to the Kirk and its ministers as playing an important role in the religious and moral training of the nation, and in their supervision and extension, the Establishment expected the sympathy, co-operation and assistance of the secular power. One of the major responses to the new problems of post-war Scotland was the attempt to renew this tradition and to systematise these agencies on a national scale,

and the initial phases of this movement -- the social aspect of the Presbyterian revival of the time -- can be best studied in the activities of its great exponent, Thomas Chalmers, in the years immediately following the peace.

Chalmers played a very prominent and varied part in the life of his country and his age. He was pastor and preacher; theologian, economist and philanthropist; professor and ecclesiastic statesman; the leader of a cause which rent the old Kirk and the builder of a new one. He was almost the last Presbyterian divine to publish something like a manual of casuistry, in the sense of the word as used by the Schoolmen and the Reformers, and it has been claimed that "the evangelical message assumed a new importance at his hand", since he reconciled it to the science, the culture and thought of the age. Yet his importance is difficult to estimate. His personality made the most diverse impressions on his contemporaries and the variety of interpretation and appreciation still persists. In any specific field, he seems to repeat a few favourite ideas and sentiments through an endless series of rhetorical variations, but if this prose poetry and the technical "unction" of his style now repels rather than converts, the historical problem is to realise why these ideas and sentiments, so expressed, moved his vast public, and what changes were actually made in its thought and practice. He supplied something like guidance to the benevolent middle class along the difficult frontier between religion and economics. Yet his social gospel was as

significant in its limitations as in its emphases, and his failure to conciliate the Scottish urban working classes was to widen conspicuously a division which had appeared in the later 18th century and which was to continue during the 19th.

Here we are first concerned with his general attitude to urban life and its problems.

Chalmers arrived in Glasgow in 1815, when he was 35 years old. Up to this date his experience had been limited to the small town on the Fifeshire coast where his father was a general merchant, to the intimate contacts of a small university like St. Andrews and to the ministry of a rural parish in Fife of some 750 persons. He established contacts with the clerical and scientific circles of Edinburgh and his intellectual develoopement had begun in the tradition of the Northern Enlightenment. He read mathematics and science, felt the attraction of the French "System of Nature," hoped to write on economic and social problems, had some inclination to play the role of an ecclesiastical statesman; nor did he think these ambitions and activities incompatible with the duties of parish work and regular preaching. Then in 1810 he was converted. The change was largely due to personal conflicts and to their resolution by the study of Wilberforce's "View of Practical Christianity," but it can also be related to the malaise of the time, to the strain of war and the general revulsion against the 18th century intellectualism which was now associated with irreligion and social disorder. The search for a deeper basis of authority

and a more spiritual guidance had thus a social as well as an individual urgency. Chalmers' intellectual and economic interests reappeared, but now supporting the new orientation rather than as ends in themselves.(7) In 1814 his growing reputation as preacher and writer secured him a call to the Tron Kirk in Glasgow.

His success with the Glasgow middle class was assured. He recognised the immense influence of the clergy in the public life of the city and he accepted the mission which seemed laid upon him to reconcile the Evangelical enthusiasm and the new business and scientific interests of the time and the place. His preaching became both famous and fashionable and his matter was relevant to the needs and interests of his hearers. In the Commercial Discourses he stressed the religious and moral aspects of the practice of business -- the influence of Christianity in aiding and augmenting the mercantile virtues, the great Christian law of reciprocity between buyer and seller, master and servant, the dangers of dissipation, dishonesty and avarice.(8) In the Astronomical Discourses he alleviated the chill of those visions of infinite space and time which the scientific advance of the age was disclosing; he touched on the modesty of true science, the sympathy that was felt for man in the distant places of creation, the slender influence of mere taste and sensibility in matters of religion, and the final authority of revelation. Published in 1817, these sermons rivalled the popularity of Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather";

in ten weeks 6,000 had been sold and nine editions were called for in a year -- a demand which represented a circulation of nearly 20,000 copies.(9)

Yet in his attitude to the working classes Chalmers exhibited a profound distrust. Their "irreligion" shocked his standards of order and decency. These were conservative, evangelical and agrarian. In post-war Glasgow he saw radicalism, demoralisation and destitution as a descending series of logical consequences; they all flowed from a deep inner dereliction of personal duty. This spirit of denial, this activity of unregenerate nature, threatened the principle of authority in church, state and business. Although his conscience commanded him to save this population, he recoiled from its very appearance.(10) He was but little aware of its standards and interests, its distinctions of skill and status, its pride of work, its tradition of fellowship and group action, its intellectual independence and agility, its exposure to the risk of unemployment. The pressures of the urban environment were to him occasions of spiritual suffering and triumph, and a message of personal contrition and regeneration, which might appeal to those who were broken by their fate, failed to win the politically conscious among the working classes.

These attitudes of his deepened with the increasing unrest in the city. Preaching in 1818 on the death of Queen Charlotte, Chalmers emphasised the association of church and state, rank and property in a sacred union. He warned his

hearers against the "Utopianism" which would regenerate the world by political and external revolutions. "There appears," he said, "to be nothing in the progress of religion which is at all calculated to level the gradations of human ranks or to do away with the distinctions of human society". Nor would poverty disappear, for it had been said of the poor that they should be always with us. There was positively nothing in the Bible that could lead us to infer that "even under the peace and righteousness of a millenial age there will not be kings and queens upon earth...the nursing fathers and mothers of the Church". The kingdoms of the earth might become the kingdoms of God "...with the external framework of these present governments", and at least with all those varieties of outward condition which were offered at the moment. "There must therefore be a way in which Christianity can accommodate itself to this framework...a mode by which without the overthrow of existing distinctions, it can establish a right reciprocity of feeling and of conduct which was to strip grandeur of its disdain, poverty of its violence and party of its asperity in one common affection". (11) It was significant that within the framework of law and order and property rights, this scheme of Christian reciprocity found room for so much of the self-regulating mechanism of a liberal economy, and indeed Chalmers was still responsive to the economic doctrines of his earlier days as well as to the spirit of the city of his residence. He disliked "the interference of the legislature in matters of

trade, saving for the purpose of a revenue", and his practical proposals were the repeal of the Corn Law, reduced taxes on necessaries and the reimposition of an Income Tax.(12)

The continued political and economic unrest in the West confirmed him in his fears. His opinion of the "Radical War" of 1819-20 was conveyed by letter to Wilberforce. The movement was to him "an aspect of infidelity and irreligion". Its leaders were the well paid workmen in the cotton and other factories, acting with the depressed handloom weavers. "But the middle classes were sound. "There were perhaps not half a dozen instances of people befriending Radicalism who are possessed of more than £200 a year". He noted the spread of a radical organisation modelled on the activities of the dissenting congregations. Some of the agitators had there acquired a "taste and talent for public management", and thus presented "the melancholy combination of a fierce, restless and dangerous politics with a regular and respectable habit of attendance upon the ordinances". The paradox did not challenge him, for, in general, the dissenting churches were on the side of law and order: the Methodists had excommunicated a member for his attendance on the Union Societies; the Independent minister had preached and published "in the strongest terms" against the agitation and its methods.(13) Glasgow was "just all the less Radical...by every congregation of Christian worshippers". But he did not regard Glasgow as a fair specimen of Scotland. He wrote to Wilberforce: "My own observations have convinced

me that there is a great decline of scholarship here; and I should liken our general population more to that of an English town than any other Scottish population I am acquainted with". And the Irish were a complication; he was not aware of the proportion that the Irish disaffected bore to the Scotch, "but from the apprehensions that have taken place, I should regard it as greatly beyond the proportion of their number in this place". His curative proposals were largely professional ones -- "nothing but the multiplication of our Established Churches, with the subdivision of parishes and the allocation of each parish to its own church, together with a pure and popular exercise of the right of patronage, will ever bring us back again to a sound and wholesome state of the body politic".

(ii)

In contrast to these ways of violence, Chalmers thus proposed to create the Christian reciprocity of feeling by extending to the towns the rural parochial system with its personal relationships and responsibilities. In a manageable territory, an educated, active and popular ministry was to create and control the various agencies of moral economy associated with the church. These leaders were to be assisted by a band of voluntary lay helpers, inspired by a religious devotion but also trained in some fashion for specific activities. An elder was to be in charge of the spiritual state of a small neighbourhood with whose inhabitants he could establish person-

al contacts, and a deacon was to co-operate with him in the treatment of the temporal necessities of the population. Since the exemption of Scotland from the miseries of pauperism had been due to education and the study of the Scriptures, there was to be a comprehensive provision of education in day and Sabbath schools.

Chalmers was emphatic as to the socialising role of these latter institutions. They were not to be free, any more than church accommodation was to be free. School fees and seat rents were parental obligations, signs of respectable independence and the means whereby an abiding interest was created in the activities of church and school. But inside the school as inside the church "there would be no other inequality...but such as arises from the diversity of talent and diligence and personal character". In every other respect, they were to be as little republics, reflecting the social range of their neighbourhood. The education provided was to be cheap enough for the poor and good enough to attract the rich, who were not to "disdain to associate their children as scholars even with the humblest offspring of poverty" -- a position which was a reflection of the practice of the rural schools. Thus might be created "a far blander and better state of society...a soft and pleasing friendship", a culture both evangelical and democratic, independent of secular position and sharing spiritual rather than temporal goods. For the aim of this popular education was "not to kindle up a diseased ambition...

after the high places of society...not to turn an operative into a capitalist, but an ignorant operative into a learned one". It would "stamp upon him the worth and respectability of which...he is fully susceptible". Chalmers looked forward to the time when humble life would be dignified both by leisure and by literature -- "when many a lettered sage as well as many an enlightened Christian will be met with even in the very lowest walks of society".(2)

The evangelical democracy was not meant to abolish rank and class, but neither was it to become a complete quietism that would be indifferent to the social environment so long as the gifts of the spirit were shared. The professing Christian was to be encouraged by the support of his fellows in those forms of associated action that sprang from church and school. The working classes might thus achieve the temporal blessing of an honourable independence; it was seemingly within their power to do so. "We trust a day is coming when the sobriety and economy of our people will at length conduct them each to the possession of his own little capital, when they shall stand on the vantage ground of treating independently with their employers and not as if standing on the brink of necessity...they shall have it in their power to decline every paltry and inadequate offer, and without anything like factious or turbulent combinations, they shall be able to keep themselves off when wages would be low so that the overplus of their work may soon be levelled away and the urgency of the demand may again raise

their wages to the level of sufficiency"[3]. Thus was the alternation of good times and bad to be regulated by an enlightened self-denial that saved and suffered.

In these circumstances the problem of relief was reduced to the exceptional and whittled away. The primary line of defence against poverty was family obligation, the second the wide range of educational, preventive and protective agencies. Actual want might be left to a local benevolence that was the fruit of neighbourly and Christian sentiment and systematically administered by the spiritual and temporal agents of the parish. There was to be an elaborate examination into each case by the deacon; work was to be found if possible; the duty of family and friends emphasised; the dissenter was reported to his own congregation; the term of an applicant's residence was to be ascertained, the possibility of relief from other parishes or other sources investigated, and then a final check made by another deacon before a regular allowance might be granted. These operations would leave only a residuum of the impotent and deserving poor as the proper objects of public support, and the business-like approach would justify itself. There would be no need of an assessment, no waste, no pauperising, no exploitation of the public by the undeserving. The remedy against the extension of pauperism did not lie in the liberalities of the rich but in the hearts and habits of the poor who were to be taught to recoil from pauperism as a degradation.[4]

In effect, Chalmers looked for the revival among the urban populations of the sobriety and independence of a virtuous peasantry. But to carry out his schemes, the support of the state was necessary. Expelled from the economic sphere except as a tax-gathering institution, it was expected to devote part of its revenues to the systematic extension and endowment of a parochial establishment. This was the necessary base of a Christian society; once it was supplied, Christian benevolence could do what was expected of it. In its more extreme forms, this position was to lead to a sharp division between the functions of church and state; religion, education and culture were to be the concern of the Church, while the role of the state was reduced to that of guaranteeing public order and purveying the material means for the good life. But actually the relations between church and state were intimate, confused and shifting; they were becoming again a matter of claim and counter-claim. An extension of the ecclesiastic and educational establishments was overdue; yet the state, in either its local or imperial manifestations, might be unwilling to incur the expense, or a secular party might oppose it as a matter of principle or policy. Chalmers first proposed to demonstrate that his ideas were practicable, that any expense he called for would be justified by its results. He urged the magistrates of Glasgow to erect 20 new churches, each one to be the centre of a developed parochial organisation. In 1819, he was offered

a definite territory as his field of experiment. The large and poor parish of St. John's was cut out of the centralised poor relief of the city and a population of 10,000 was subjected to the influence of a moral economy.(5)

After four years of trial, the results were at the best inconclusive. Chalmers inspired the devoted service of helpers who were deeply moved by the needs of the situation they faced. Some of them had indeed been rescued from its misery and were thus peculiarly effective in their appeal. An elaborate educational machinery was set up. Two sessional schools were established where nearly 800 children were given instruction at moderate fees and by competent teachers. A network of juvenile Sabbath classes spread a knowledge of the Bible and the rudiments of a secular education, and a similar arrangement was begun for adults. There were constant activities of kirk-session, Bible and missionary societies, special charities, popular savings bank and educational association. With all this, it was proposed "to conduct a population...the cost of whose pauperism averaged £1,400 into the condition of an unassessed country parish and to provide for all its indigence out of the fund raised by voluntary contributions at the church door".(6) The expenses of assistance did fall to the more manageable figure of £280 a year. The area was subdivided into 25 districts comprising 60 to 100 families and their spiritual and temporal needs were investigated by elder and deacon. The roll of the permanent poor was examined and reduced. The burden of the occasional

poor, hitherto supported from the central fund, was now carried by the church collections. The moral tone of the parish rose. Everyone and everything was as self-supporting as possible and a perfervid enthusiasm was assisted by the methods of business efficiency. When the need of a supplementary church became apparent, a chapel of ease was financed by loans carrying the ordinary rate of interest and secured by the seat-rents to be paid by the new congregation; the new minister's salary was to be provided from the same source. Even if the secular rulers of Glasgow refused to spend money on churches and schools, a way seemed open for a self-supporting and limitless church extension; if the State continued indifferent or became hostile, the Church could attempt to fulfil its national mission by its own enthusiastic effort. (7)

Yet Chalmers' work at St. John's was estimated very variously. The creation of manageable territorial units of Christian activity in the large towns was an obvious advance on the inherited situation and the appeal of personal service and voluntary association in all manner of good works was immensely strengthened by his energy and reputation. But the emphasis on business method was becoming characteristic of benevolent enterprise of any size at this period, and in fact some of the projects at St. John's were speculative and over-confident. The seat-rents of the new church, for example, were fixed at too high a rate; the interest on the loans was unpaid and the salary of the incoming minister only partially covered. The

most successful of the parish schemes was the attempt to provide education, but here success had its drawbacks. The schools were in no sense charity institutions; the fees, however small, excluded those who were in most need of education and, as with other Sessional schools, the comparative excellence of the teaching attracted a student population from outside the bounds of the parish. In the specific case of poor relief, Chalmers' success was openly doubted. He explained (8) in reply that two of his essential conditions had not been met. He argued for a law of residence as between the different city parishes; each was to be responsible for only its own poor. Further, St. John's still carried some burden of general assessment; a parish which had ceased to receive from the central fund should in equity be no longer forced to contribute to it. Underlying both these positions was an intense localism and a belief in administrative decentralisation that took little account of the social interdependence and circulation of a great industrial city. Chalmers' scheme assumed a stable population, neighbourhood responsibilities and a regime of benevolent amateurs. It would have thrown the burden of relief on the poorest parishes and reduced the obligation of the prosperous to a voluntary basis. Moreover, the efficacy of Chalmers' methods was queried as concealing rather than relieving poverty. (9) Only definite applications for aid were considered; seemingly no survey was made of the actual prevalence of necessity. The preliminary investigation was sometimes superficial and some-